Understanding Byzantium

Studies in Byzantine Historical Sources

Edited by
Sarolta Takács

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

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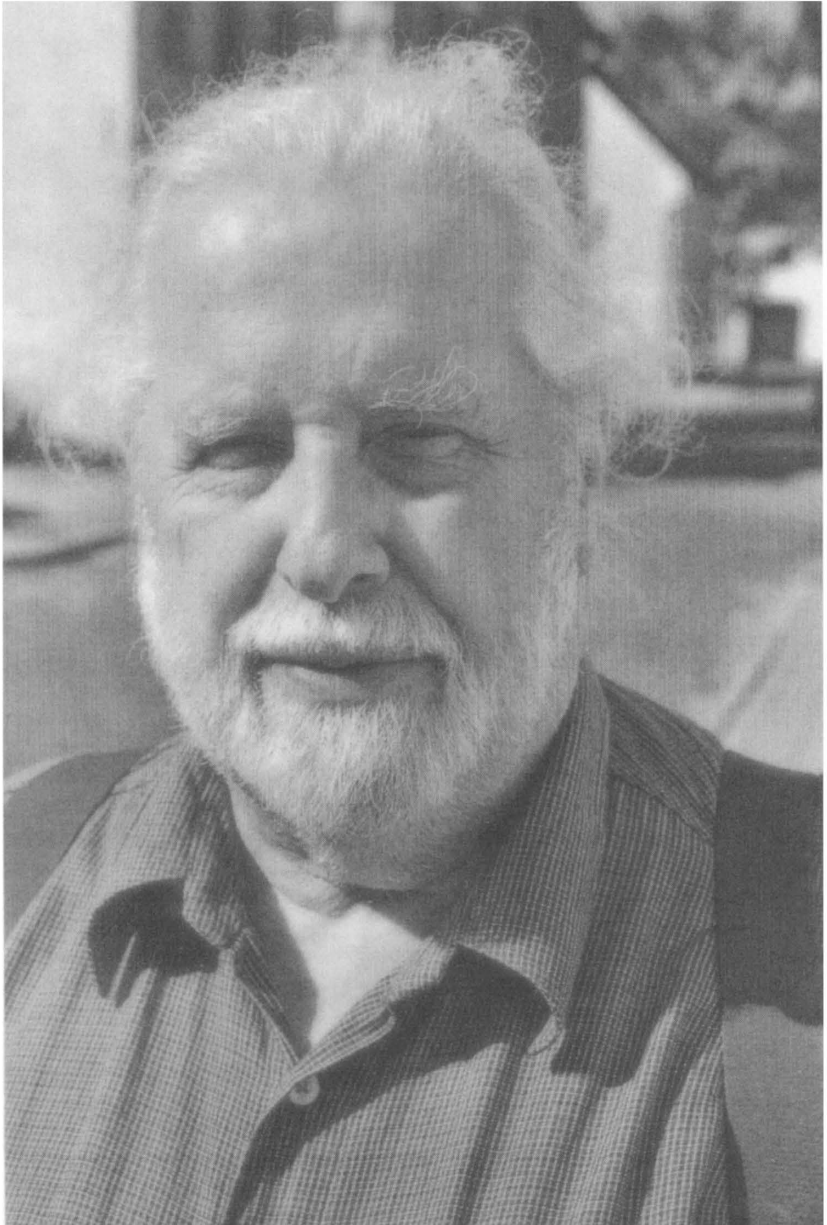
Professor Paul Speck

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Foreword

The works of Paul Speck have often seemed to pass almost unnoticed in the English-speaking world, with but a few exceptions. At the time of the 1996 International Byzantine Congress in Copenhagen, a group of us were discussing this issue, and there arose the idea of translating a selection of his studies into English. The result was that Paul Speck, John Haldon, and John Smedley asked me to oversee the translation of twenty articles. Since the goal was to make thought provoking ideas and a hitherto ignored scholarly approach available to a new audience, I was eager to do so. There were many challenges, but there were also many helping and guiding hands. I would like to thank Fred Naiden and Berislav Marusić for their preliminary translations as well as Martha Vinson and John Haldon for their many suggestions. My deepest gratitude goes to Kirsten Weissenberg, for her detailed work of checking and revision, and to John Smedley, who made sure that this project reached completion. Paul Speck, whose input and careful reading saved us from many mistakes, has all our appreciation and thanks. We received financial support from Germany's *Inter Nationes* program, the Harvard University Faculty Aide program, and Harvard University Department of the Classics' James Loeb trust grant. May this collection achieve what it set out to do, challenge our views, inspire discussion, and further our understanding of Byzantium.

SAROLTA A. TAKÁCS

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey
November 2002

Preface

The selection of my articles presented in this volume covers the period between 1965 and 1994. These works, now published in English for the first time, deal with various aspects of Byzantine studies on which I have focused in the course of my research. To summarize some of the principle features of the individual articles, they cover: editing texts (I); the history of Byzantine Studies (II, XIII); chronology (X); the history of art (V, and the appendix to XIV); interpreting and dating texts (V, VII, X and XI); the analysis of poetry (IX, XV part 3, and XVIII); and finally the evaluation of historical sources (IV, VI, XV, XVI, XVII and XIX), with particular reference to the problems of iconoclasm (III and VIII) along with some more general thoughts about its history and the closely connected so-called Byzantine renaissance in the ninth century (XII and XIV). Often the studies overlap, because the interpretation of every text opens up a wide range of further, mostly unexpected, results. The final chapter in this volume is a reflection on philhellenism, and is aimed at showing the connection between Byzantium and the intellectual and cultural history of nineteenth-century Greece.

Most of the topics and subjects covered in the chapters in this volume are also dealt with in the monographs I have written, both longer and shorter ones. They complement one another, and the reader can find relevant references in the notes to the individual articles here.

I am grateful to Sarolta Takács for taking in hand the task of translating the material. My special thanks go to Ashgate Publishing and their publisher John Smedley, for including these translations in the Variorum Collected Studies Series. This will, I hope, enable those of my fellow scholars who do not know German to make use of them in their discussion of central problems of Byzantine Studies.

PAUL SPECK

Berlin
November 2002

Publisher's Note

The original pagination of the German essays has been indicated in the text in square brackets.

Acknowledgements

The chapters in this volume were first published as follows.

The Dating of the So-Called *Paradeisos*

Zur Datierung des sogenannten *Paradeisos*

[333] The collection entitled *Paradeisos*, with 99 epigrams[1] written in four-line elegiac distichs, being a selection from and *Nachdichtung* of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, was recognised after a short debate around the turn of the century[2] as a genuine work of John Geometres. F. Scheidweiler picked the question up again a couple of years ago,[3] and using metrical arguments denied the authorship of John Geometres[4] and attributed the work to the ascetic Neilos who is also named in the transmission.

In the course of preparing a critical edition of the *Paradeisos*[5] it seemed appropriate to present the question of authorship, and therefore its dating, separately and to put it forward for discussion. The manuscript tradition does not give any answers to the question.[6] The approximately 35 manuscripts go back to one archetype[7] and are divided into two branches; in one of them the work is attributed to John Geometres,[8] while the second names Neilos as its

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[1]   Easiest access in PG 106, pp. 867–89.

[2]   Cf. the articles of F. Lauchert, *BZ* 4 (1895), pp. 125–7 and L. Voltz, *BZ* 5 (1896), pp. 481–3.

[3]   'Studien zu John Geometres', *BZ* 45 (1952) 277–319.

[4]   N. 3 above, pp. 295–97: 'Im Paradeisos gibt es keine Spondäen im zweiten Hemiepes des Pentameters und keine Diärese nach dem dritten Fuß des Hexameters; beides im Gegensatz zu den anderen Werken des John Geometres'.

[5]   J.B. Bury announced a critical edition (The Παράδεισος of Ioannes Geometres, *BZ* 7 [1898], pp. 134–7), but it never appeared; cf. N.H. Baynes, *A Bibliography of the Works of J.B. Bury, Compiled with a Memoir* (Cambridge, 1929). The preparatory work of J.B. Bury seems lost too; his estate did not include any scholarly manuscripts as Mr. R.V. Kerr, librarian at the University of Cambridge, kindly informed me after checking with J.B. Bury's nephew, Mr. J.P.T. Bury.

[6]   The history of transmission can only be sketched out briefly in the following; all proof needs to be reserved for the edition.

[7]   Bury already noted this, n. 5 above, p. 136, § 4, no. 1.

[8]   Cf. for example the title in Athos, Iber. 765 (Lambros 4885), saec. XVI: Ἰωάννου Γεωμέτρου ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Γεροντικοῦ εἰς ποιητικὴν τάξιν, ἧς ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ Παράδεισος.

author,[9] and on one occasion – and that in the oldest manuscript, Vindob. [334] Phil gr. 330, saec. XIV (first half) – it does not have a title. However, this manuscript gives a secure *terminus ante quem*, which can even be brought forward a little, since the manuscript points towards an advanced state of transmission. Furthermore, both branches need to be taken into account for establishing the text;[10] they do not answer, however, the question of authorship.

Considerations of more general character do not help. Thus one could argue that it is unlikely that a composition of Christian-monastic character was not read for many centuries, only to appear suddenly in an abundant number of manuscripts;[11] but one has only to point to the psalm metaphrasis of Pseudo-Apollinarios where just such an event occurred.[12]

It is therefore safest to check whether the text itself does not include evidence for a date. Although this is very unlikely, since the epigrams are poetical versions of the *Apophthegmata*, there is a passage which under certain conditions fulfils these requirements. This is epigram no. 48 whose text is to be reconstructed as:

Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰς χρείας
Ξεῖνον ἔδεκτ᾽ Ἀγάθων, χύτρῃ δέ τιν᾽ ἔμβαλε φακὸν

There is often an addition such as (Alexandria, Patriarchate 232, saec. XVI): ἐν ἄλλῳ Νείλου μοναχοῦ.

⁹ Most often in the typical form (Athos, Kutlumus. 244 [Lambros 3317], saec. XVI): κεφάλαια μεταληφθέντα ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ πράξεων τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἧς ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ Παράδεισος. Νείλου μοναχοῦ. ἡρωελεγεῖα. This sometimes comes with an addition such as (Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 10, saec. XVII): οἱ δὲ Ἰωάννου [334] Γεωμέτρου. Next to this also other titles like (Florence, Laurent. Plut. IX 18, saec. XV): ἕτερα κεφάλαια τοῦ ἁγίου Νείλου, or (Darmstadt 2773, saec. XIV): τοῦ ἐν ἀσκηταῖς μεγάλου Νείλου πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον παῖδα Θεόδουλον κεφάλαια παραινετικά (the son's name presumably after Pseudo-Neilos Διηγήματα εἰς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾷ μοναχῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν Θεοδούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (PG 79, 583–694); see B. Altaner – A. Stuiber, *Patrologie*⁶ (Freiburg, 1960), p. 300.

¹⁰ Although the Neilos-redaction has many mistakes in details, it is more complete than the Geometres-redaction, which has a better text in terms of details.

¹¹ L.-O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates, Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text* (Uppsala, 1962), esp. p. 70, used this argument most recently in a modified form to date the various recensions of the novel.

¹² The work is from the fifth century (cf. J. Golega, *Der Homerische Psalter*. Studia Patristica e Byzantina 6 [Ettal, 1960], esp. p. 175f.) but only extant in manuscript form in the fourteenth century (see p. 176); it then, however, appears in an abundance of manuscripts (cf. praefatio of A. Ludwich, ed., *Apollinarii Metaphrasis Psalmorum* [Leipzig, 1912]).

καὶ παρέθηκε φέρων. Φῆ δ᾽ ὁ φίλος γελόων·
ὄμφακες οἱ φακοί εἰσιν. Ὁ δ᾽ ἴαχεν· οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο
ἄρκιόν ἐσθ᾽, ὅτι πῦρ ἔδρακες εἰς τὸν Ἄθω·[13]

The model for this epigram was undoubtedly Esaias, Apophth. 6 (PG 65, 181C):

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀββᾶς Ἡσαΐας[14] ἐκάλεσέ τινα τῶν ἀδελφῶν [335] καὶ ἔνιψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἔβαλε δράκα φακοῦ εἰς χύτραν καὶ, ὡς ἔβρασε, κατήνεγκεν αὐτήν. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελφός· οὔπω ἐψήθη. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι, ὅτι ὅλως εἶδες λαμπρόν; Καὶ αὕτη μεγάλη παράκλησις.

The punchline of this saying lies in the fact that the most observant hermits do not cook at all but only eat raw food;[15] hence a guest has to be content if he receives anything cooked whether or not it is done. Exactly the same is said in the epigram, only with the addendum: 'on Athos': is it not enough that you just saw fire (beneath the food) even here on Athos (where normally nothing is cooked)?

Therefore this poem serves as a certain *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Paradeisos*. Even if the collection was not put together on Athos, it presupposes an origin in which Athos was already associated with a land of monks in people's minds. Should it, however, have been composed on Athos (which cannot be simply dismissed), it has also to be presupposed that monks lived on the peninsula, and more particularly, it would seem, not just hermits (who can hardly be assumed to be the authors of elegiac epigrams),[16] but monks who lived in monasteries and cultivated education. In either case one can hardly put the time of composition before the tenth century.

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[13]   The only variation of importance (in the Geometres-redaction) is verse 2: γέρων (instead of φέρων).

[14]   The change of names also occurs in many prose redactions (cf., for example, J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 36 [Brussels, 1962], p. 196) and in other epigrams (No. 20, with the name Apollo, is composed after Poimen, *Apophth*. 185 [PG 65, 368 A/B]. The reasons for the change [335] at this point seem to be metrical ones, rather than to seek another redaction as model. The prototype is in any case clear.

[15]   The so-called ὠμοφαγία see, for example, J. Schümmer, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* X (1938) 1009, s.v. Xerophagie.

[16]   That the epigrams are situated in the world of hermits is due to the prototype of the *Apophthegmata*; this shows only the author's interest in this type of monk, but in no way that he himself was a hermit.

Opposition to this argumentation could come from three directions.

1. A different interpretation of verse 4: however, one is not apparent.
2. Suspicions regarding the reading as such: however, εἰς τὸν Ἄθω is transmitted in all manuscripts and so secure as a reading of the archetype, and there is hardly any reason to suspect something that is transmitted correctly and which is meaningful, only because of a dating.
3. Reading the epigram as a later insertion into an already existing collection: the symbolic number of epigrams, 99,[17] first of all tells against this; it would, at best, allow the assumption that an old epigram was replaced with another one. This, however, is ruled out by the linguistic and stylistic uniformity of all the epigrams,[18] [336] by which is also suggested uniform conception and composition.

When one finally realizes that the epigrams were created in medieval Byzantium in imitation of the Egyptian milieu of the *Apophthegmata*, one finds another epigram which supports this thesis: No. 53. In this a visitor wants to tell a monk that he has travelled everywhere: Καὶ Φρυγίην διέβην καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ ὕπαιθρα, / Εὐτρεπίῳ πρὸς ὄρος εἶπε φίλος πελάσας. Phrygia and Asia as an example for the whole world hardly fits Egypt; it does not even go with Bithynian Olympus, but again only with Athos, which even today is τὸ ὄρος par excellence.[18a]

The above-mentioned *terminus post quem* is thus fixed, and so many linguistic phenomena, which Scheidweiler with difficulty wanted to place in Late Antiquity, are now explained by Byzantine language usage.[19] This therefore excludes Neilos as a possibility. John Geometres, however, again becomes a possibility, although only if (and this still needs to be studied) it can be demonstrated that the metrical arguments which Scheidweiler used are not necessarily proof; when, for example, it can actually be assumed that John used metres differently according to the meaning of his poetic compositions.

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[17] This is the number value of ἀμήν see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*[2] (Leipzig, 1913), vol. 2, p. 309.

[18] The proof for this is in my edition.

[18a] By itself alone, however, τὸ ὄρος is not an argument since the concept was probably connected from the beginning with the *Apophthegmata*, see, for example, Syncletice, *Apophth.* p. 1 (Guy, n. 14 above, p. 34).

[19] Guy, n. 14 above, p. 296 (quantities: ε, ο long; η, ω short; dichrona; εἰς - ἐν among others).

One could only then say that he puts special emphasis on metric accuracy in the *Paradeisos* and that he nevertheless is the author.

But whether it is John Geometres or an anonymous writer who is the author,[20] the *Paradeisos* is further testimony to the close melding of Antiquity and Christianity that took place in Byzantium. Indeed, an extraordinarily paradoxical testimony, since the thought and experience of the hermits of the Egyptian desert, who were almost completely opposed to literature, are presented in the form of highly poignant epigrams and with full rhetorical finesse, as is probably most evident in epigram no. 9:[21]

> ῞Οτι ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ ἀσκητική
> Ἀρσενίῳ τις ἔφη· σὺ τὸ "μῆνιν ἄειδε" διδάξας
> τούτους εἰρωτᾷς τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς τί μαθεῖν;
> Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, εἶφ' ὁ γέρων, ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὐ δεδάηκα
> τῶν ἀμαθῶν τούτων οὐδὲ τὸ ἄλφα μόνον.

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[20] Speculations about the reason for anonymity and the reasons for attribution are premature here.

[21] After Arsenius, *Apophth.* 6 (PG 65, 89A).

Review of P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle*

[385] Some books – and the one by P. Lemerle is one of them – cannot in good conscience be reviewed in the usual way. A bibliographical summary of the work would be quite simple (for example, 'it deals with Byzantine education and art from the fourth to tenth centuries in a probing and exhaustive fashion'), but writing a review confronts the reviewer with a difficult dilemma. He can write it as an advertisement, just in greater detail (instead of this often ventured but ultimately cheap method, this reviewer forces the reader to pick up the book himself and read the table of contents on p. 327. At the end of such a review it would be desirable to express hope that the author would soon finish the planned second volume and thus present a detailed history of Byzantine education). Or, the reviewer follows every question touched upon and, therefore, has to exceed the limits not only of a review but also an essay. For, leaving aside the scope of the problems discussed, L. not only presents a significant number of new sources but also interprets all his sources in such detail that a point-by-point response requires the same subtlety in pursuing or refuting particular conclusions. Those that are not irrefutable, that is, as many of his conclusions are (e.g., that Photios never taught at a public institution).

To illustrate this assertion, only one point shall be presented; namely, the foundation of a school by Emperor Theodosios II, which L. discusses on p. 63f. under the title, 'Théodose et l'Université d'Etat.' This touches on one of L.'s theses upon which the reviewer has a different view, particularly concerning public higher education or state influence on it.[1] In this regard Theodosios'

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[1] The reviewer had finished a longer study on education in Byzantium (*Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel. Präzisierung zur Frage des Höheren Schulwesen in Byzanz im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*) when L.'s book was published. The resulting revision postponed the publication of this work.

founding a school is important because it could have served as a model for later institutions.

According to L., the first sentence of the foundation decree of 27 February 425 AD (Cod. Theod. XIV.9.3) ordains that 'tous ceux qui s'arrogent le titre de magistri et rassemblent des élèves "in publicis magistrationibus cellulisque", cessent de le faire sous pein d'être chassés de la ville', which means, all activities of this group of teachers were prohibited. Thereby one aspect of the sentence is, however, neglected. It is ordained that all who claim to be teachers *(universos, qui usurpantes sibi nomina magistrorum)*[2] and usually let students, who were drawn from everywhere, move back and forth in public halls and rooms[3] *(in publicis magistrationibus cellulisque collectos undecumque discipulos circumferre consuerunt)* should refrain from making public displays *(ab ostentatione vulgari praecipimus amoveri)*. Therefore, the decree primarily asserts that teachers are not allowed to hold the usual show lessons in public buildings. The situation that triggered this order is the fact that teachers with their 'colourful mixture' of students, behaving ostentatiously, moved into public halls (which were available for holding lessons) [386] and held their classes in front of the public. Yet only this type of 'self-exhibition' was censured and this indicates, given what we know about ancient education, that it probably made it impossible for these teachers to advertise their classes or their skills. It is not explicitly stated that they are not allowed to teach in the specified rooms (even without the public), although this is what the text implies (the sole purpose of classes given in public is advertising) and it must also be concluded from the second sentence of the decree: those, however, who give the same instructions privately in different houses *(illos vero, qui intra plurimorum domus eadem exercere privatim*[4] *studia consuerunt)* are not threatened by the same punishments (i.e. *infamia* and expulsion from the city), provided that they intend to devote themselves exclusively to the welfare of the pupils whom they would teach in their (the pupils'? Or the teachers'?) home *(si ipsis tantummodo discipulis vacare voluerint, quos intra parietes domesticos docent)*. The main emphasis of this sentence lies on the prohibition of soliciting,[5] since

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2   There was probably no institution that granted this title.

3   For the supposed role of public buildings in education, see below.

4   This means that the classes taught to the first group were somehow understood as 'public'. L. consequently speaks of an *enseignement public libre*. How far teachers ever went beyond the permitted use of public buildings remains an open question, see below.

5   The *plurimorum domus* and the *parietes domestici* are, if at all, to be differentiated in

the teachers are to be content with the same pupils that they are teaching; in this the authorities took into account the fact that word-of-mouth advertising alone would not have sufficed to assure the necessary number of pupils. The explicitly stated restriction of instruction to within four walls excludes public, promotional canvassing.

A third point which concerns teachers who reside in the auditorium of the Capitol is that they ought to know that they are not allowed to give any sort of instruction in private houses (*sin autem ex eorum [sc.teachers generally] numero fuerint, qui videntur intra Capitolii auditorium constituti, ii omnibus modis privatarum aedium studia sibi interdicta esse cognoscant*). Failing that, they lose the privileges that are deserved only by those who teach on the Capitol (*qui in Capitolio tantum docere praecepti sint*). Since it is not stated whether the teachers on the Capitol lived only on their *privilegia*[6] or received additional fees from their students, the meaning of this decree is clear only insofar as one particular kind of promotion is strictly forbidden; namely, that they used their position to advertise and most of all that they would draw pupils away from the Capitol into their own private classes. These were not generally lucrative but could bring in good additional income. Yet it was not beneficial to the school or the students.

With this legal distinction – in every respect it restricted private teachers and privileged public teachers on the Capitol – the high esteem of the school on the Capitol becomes obvious. Here the aim was to train the *adulescentia gloriosa* not only in grammar and rhetoric, but also in *profundioris scientiae et doctrinae*. For this reason, a philosopher and two more jurists were appointed. A characteristic feature of the whole decree is not that private instruction is prohibited; merely that the possibility of promotion is to be denied. The school on the Capitol ought to be the only one that entered the public consciousness, and any thought of competing against it was to be kept at arm's length. Yet this attitude cannot be unfounded. Competition can only occur between institutions that were similar in their level of instruction and the range of courses offered (an elementary school is no competition for a university!). This shows,

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this way: that teachers indeed taught in different houses (even the pupils') but in each case remained within 'four walls' (probably including their own). A 'group' or wandering band of students is out of the question.

[6]   Nothing is known about the nature of these privileges and the level of salary. For the existing information on teachers' salaries, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), vol. 2, p. 1001.

however, that the curricula [387] which were taught in the Capitol school were in principle not different from those the previously mentioned private teachers had to offer. One might assume both were equal in regard to grammar and rhetoric. Therefore, it is, however – even with all the differences among the teachers with respect to their qualification – inappropriate to speak of a 'university' (even if the term is used in quotation marks). Something like a 'university' may be claimed for certain subjects taught, maybe for the *profundiora*, where classes were based on grammar and rhetoric. Certainly not all students went to these classes, as is implied by only three academic positions, and there could have been parallel private provision of similar classes. But, in general, the institution on the Capitol was – to use a modern term – a secondary school, but by no means a school that offered an even higher level of instruction based on the private school education. This should not, of course, be taken to mean that on the Capitol, at least according to Theodosios' intentions, not even the highest level of education could be acquired. Yet private teachers offered this opportunity too. The split between the two did not run horizontally but vertically.

Thus the conclusions L. draws from his analysis of the law become questionable, that in this institution there was no patronage or (official) supervision, but instead – this would be the innovation – 'un monopole de l'Etat sur l'enseignment "universitaire" de Constantinople'. As the schools basically did not differ in the level of instruction, this is not an example of a state monopoly (in the sense that there was nothing similar to it) but a rather ruthless restriction on all similar competition. The intention was not, however, to eliminate this competition, i.e., to monopolise instruction on a specific level, but rather to ensure the school in the Capitol would not be adversely affected.

The text gives no indication whose interests were served by shielding this school; for example, nothing is known about the selection of students. Nevertheless, one may assume that the education of young people concerned only a particular class of society, which on this basis was also privileged to obtain offices and develop careers. The school therefore served to reinforce the existing balance of power and was, for that reason, certainly public, although it must be noted that the private schools drew support from the same class. Furthermore, an aspect might not have been obvious, namely the fact that a qualification from this school was now required for certain careers. But the use of official resources for the protection of the school appears to arise not so much from consideration of the reasons mentioned previously. Rather, another

point of view came to the forefront of the founder's mind: imperial esteem, as is plainly evoked in the text itself by the proud formulation, *auditorium specialiter nostrum*. Thus, the school served the emperor in representing himself as a patron of intellectual life in the capital of his empire.[7] With the foundation the emperor fulfilled the obligation that was forced upon him as the richest and most powerful man in a society that for its part was ready to honour a εὐεργέτης, a benefactor.

All this places the school in the Hellenistic educational tradition,[8] with the difference that the Roman Empire had different means at its disposal to limit any competition. The emperor was the protector of 'his' school [388] and applied all official resources to this protectorate. But by these means – this aspect is of great importance, too – he gave the in the meantime established capital of Constantinople a boost that kept it from lagging behind other cities in the empire in the field of education.

However, the high-point of these imperial ambitions does not appear to have lasted for long. When Theodosios renewed the privileges of the *magistri* on 19 August 427 AD,[9] this can be considered as mere routine, which it is not by L.[10] But, a meaningful reason for it can only be found in some kind of opposition of the private teachers, for it can no doubt be assumed that they had some kind of a

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[7]   Here the influence of the education-keen Eudokia needs to be considered (see also L., p. 62 n. 51) and who according to the *Parast. synt. chron.* 64 (61f. Preger) had seven philosophers brought from Athens to Constantinople.

[8]   For the Hellenistic and Roman public systems which depended largely on donations, cf. H.-J. Marrou, *Geschichte der Erziehung im klassischen Altertum*, ed. R. Harder (Freiburg, 1957), pp. 165f. and 444f. Since the number of potential founders in late Roman times declined due to economic reasons, here one should examine how much the established increase in public demands for education owed to state and/or social interests and how much it was based on the desire for esteem felt by individuals (such as those in public office) or lay with the community.

[9]   Cod. Theod. XIII.3.18. From the following it may be concluded that teachers on the Capitol evidently were not included: According to the decree of 13 March 425 (Cod. Theod. VI.21.1) some teachers on the Capitol (*qui in memorato auditorio professorum fungantur officio*) are immediately honoured with *codicillis comitivae primi ordinis*, and for the rest there is the prospect that they will obtain this honour after 20 years of satisfactory service. However, the new privileges are valid the same way as the old ones were (see the following note) for all *liberalium artium magistros*. Only for the *archiatri* is it assumed that they are *primi vel secundi ordinis comites*.

[10]   After his coronation Theodosios had already taken care of that once, on 30 November 414 (Cod. Theod. XII.3.16 and 17). Then it was routine.

lobby at court. After substantial restriction of their field of action the private teachers were probably supposed to be at least appeased by the confirmation of their old privileges. Yet this remains speculative.

However, there is something more to say about L.'s analysis of Theodosios' decree. L. actually infers the following from the text, that the previously existing school system in Constantinople consisted of three parts: *enseignement privé* (private teachers in homes), *enseignement publique libre* (private teachers in public buildings), and *probablement un embryon d'enseignement d'Etat en grammaire et rhétorique*. For the latter – which doubtless did exist – L. points mainly to a note in Jerome[11] and concludes that through the decree of 425 this official instruction was further developed and organized. While afterwards, following the elimination of 'free and open' instruction only private instruction remained, which was neatly separated from the public kind.

I think however that, given our present knowledge, one should not make such a clear-cut distinction between these three categories. It is unclear in what way private instruction in houses differed from that in public buildings. Reputation and connections might have opened the way from one to the other. And one of the most important rights of public teachers before 425 might have been the assignation of public buildings to them. If in fact the latter were entirely or partly paid at public expense,[12] one can assume that in 425 they were not put out on the street, but were integrated into the school on the Capitol.[13] Based on the decree it can well be supposed that the publicly paid teachers also taught privately.

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[11] Jerome, Chronicle for the Year 358 (241, 7–9 ed. Helm): *Euanthius eruditissimus grammaticorum Constantinopuli diem obit, in cuius locum ex Africa Chrestus adducitur*. It can also be deduced from Libanios that teachers were officially employed in Constantinople, cf. Jones, op. cit., p. 707 with n. 47 on orat. I. 35, 37 and 80.

[12] See n. 6 above.

[13] Probably the same ones who immediately received the *codicilli*: see n. 9. However the teachers who are named at the beginning of the decree of Cod. Theod. VI.21.1 certainly remain problems that can only be indicated here. Helladios is also verified elsewhere as being in Constantinople (cf. Gudemann, *RE* VIII,1,102; Sokrates was [*Hist. eccles.* V.16; PG 67, 605a] his pupil probably before 425, κομιδῆ νέος ὤν) while others (the Greek grammarian Syrianos, the Latin grammarian Theophilus, the philosophers Martinos and Maximus, and the jurist Leontius) cannot be identified without further prosopographical investigation. What became of the other known teachers and attested before 425 is imponderable (like Troilos; cf. Ensslin, *RE* VIIA,1,615f.), was he and did he remain a private teacher? Or, had he died?

[389] Therefore the decree does not seem to be so much an attempt to reduce the three-fold division to two ('official' university – private secondary schools) but to draw a sharp distinction between the overlapping categories by banishing private teachers to private houses and concentrating public teachers topographically in one place in the city, the Capitol. However, this did not bring a kind of structure to the previously muddled school system,[14] but shielded the school on the Capitol from all competition for the reasons stated.

Whereas before 425 the rooms assigned for instruction were mainly concentrated around the Basilica,[15] now the Capitol became the centre of public education. This, however, does not mean a move of the (reformed or enlarged) 'university,' but rather that it seems that a topographical distinction was made, leaving aside the Basilica,[16] which so to speak was burdened

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[14]   Even if the de facto result should occur whilst any transition between publicly funded and privately were blocked.

[15]   Socrat., *Hist. Eccles.* III.1; PG 67, 369B: τὴν Βασιλικήν. ἔνθα τότε (when Julian the Apostate learnt grammar and rhetoric under the supervision of a παιδαγωγός) τὰ παιδευτήρια ἦν. L. rightly concludes that in Sockrates' time there were no schools at that place. Since the decree of 425 does not mention the Basilica but speaks generally of *publicis magistrationibus cellulisque*, I would assume that outside the Basilica there also were additional public buildings with teachers.

[16]   The basilica further housed the library as L. rightly notes, 65f. As to its rebuilding after the fire of 475 (Kedren. I.616 [Bonn]; Zonar. III.130f. [Bonn]; Suda s.v. Μάλχος [III.315 Adler]), it was surely an undertaking of the Prefect Illus, despite A.M. Schneider's argument, *Byzanz* (Berlin 1936), p. 25, not only with regard to digging out the cistern in the μεσίαυλον τῆς Βασιλικῆς Ἴλλου (*Chron. Pasch.* 619 [Bonn]; Theoph. I.176 [de Boor]; Kedren. I.645 [Bonn]) that as one of the great cistern buildings of Justinian it must be identical with the one reported by Prokopios (*de aedif.* I.11.12; 43 [Haury-Wirth] κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως στοάν ... where there is a very great αὐλή ... ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ περίστυλος οὖσα, but especially also because of the expressive testimonies of Ioan. Antioch., frg. 211 (Müller, *FHG* IV, 618) see C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 49 n. 75. But then the epigrams in *Anth. Palat.* XVI.69–71 have nothing to do with this reconstruction, by L. 67f., who gives a detailed interpretation of them. The first (no. 69), which dates the Prefect Julian to the time of Zeno, is related first of all to the statues of Zeno and Ariadne before the Chalke, cf. Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 100 n. 6, where the epigram should be appended. The two others (nos. 70 and 71), which identify the (same?) Prefect Julian as builder of an οἶκος Ἑλικῶνος and report a statue of the emperor in front of it might, if the conjecture Ἀναστασίου is accepted at 71.2, refer to this emperor, but if Ἀναστασίην is retained, they could also refer to the Emperor Tiberios II and Aelia Anastasia. In that case, two statues and some others of Julian have the same significance; so already R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (2nd ed., Paris 1964), p. 161f. (But in this case there is still no indication of a rebuilding of the Basilica, since after the fire in the year 542 because of the Nike uprising the

with private tuition [390] in public buildings, or public tuition with a private sideline. Instead, there was a deliberate focus on the Capitol, around which some educational institutions had probably been previously established.

The latter can – with all reservation – be concluded from three epigrams from the *Anth. Pal.* (IX.799–801), where one Μουσήλιος[17] founded a μουσεῖον, which housed an image of the emperor. He built this μουσεῖον for the λόγοι,[18] so to speak as τιμὴν μουσοπόλοις, πόλεως χάριν, ἐλπίδα κούρων.[19] One might want to imagine this institution as a mixture of literary circle and school; it was quite close to the Capitol, because, according to the lemma of epigram 799, this (and the two others?[20]) was to be read ἐν τῷ πορφυρῷ κίονι, τὸ ὂν εἰς τὸ Φιλαδέλφιον. This lay right in front of the Capitol in the direction of the Taurus.[21] As for the date of the epigrams and with it of the μουσεῖον, there is only one definitely reported Musellius who can be the one in question; namely, the one known from the Cod. Theod. XI.28.3 of 9 April 414, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. Hence it seems possible that the epigram may refer to him and that even before 425 educational institutions existed near the Capitol.[22]

Prefect Longinos felt responsible for this; Malal. 482 [Bonn] in Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 49f.). Any reference in the epigram to a reconstruction is therefore fanciful. And the hypothesis of R. Guilland, *Études de Topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin, 1969), p. 5, that Illus rebuilt the Basilica and Julian the library, remains pure speculation, since the library was probably attached to the Basilica in an annex, Zosim. III.11.127 (Mendelssohn). Since otherwise the epigrams instead suggest a simple renovation (70.1 ἀναβήσαντα) and adornment (71.1 μετὰ κόσμον Πιερίδων), it is probably a case of a still unidentified building that is comparable to the μουσεῖον of Mouselios (see below).

[17]   He is certainly not identical with the Μουσελές vel sim., who is known from the οἶκος (and the μονή) τοῦ Μωσηλέ, for the time being see L., 244 n. 6, and for the location see G. Prinzing and P. Speck, in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck [Misc. Byz. Monac. 14, (Munich, 1973)], p. 192f.

[18]   800, 1; when the next verse says that Mouselios believed, ὡς Θεός ἐστι Λόγος, then this is only a play upon words with λόγος and shows the faith of the founder. A Christian school cannot be supposed.

[19]   799, 5.

[20]   Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 410 believes that all epigrams were on columns. For the two last ones the nearby μουσεῖον would be a possibility as well.

[21]   The topographical evidence cannot be furnished here, but a corresponding work by the author about the centre of Constantinople is about to be completed.

[22]   There are no reasons to identify this μουσεῖον as the institution founded by Theodosios. On the basis of his position, Musellius was doubtless the executive authority, but the second part of the decree of 425 (Cod. Theod. XV.1.21), which regulates local

[391] It is not possible to say what became of the school in the Capitol. Whether the teachers who are attributed to Constantinople in the following centuries (like Oros, Orion, Horapollon, Nicolas Myr., Pamprepios, Agapios, Eugenios, Stephen Byz., Hermolaos, Priscian, et al.) held public teaching posts at this school, as is generally assumed to be self evident, is possible, indeed probable, but hardly provable.[23] The school on the Capitol is mentioned only once more in the sixth century (Ioan. Lyd., *de magistr.* III, 29; 117.8–10) and in a way as if the Capitol was still reserved for academic instruction: τοῦ τηνικαῦτα τὴν πολιαρχίαν ἰθύνοντος καὶ τόπον διδασκάλοις

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matters is addressed to the State Prefect Constantine (the first part, analyzed above, has no addressee). Aside from this, Musellius was in office at latest until 422, when a certain Macrobius is recorded as *praefectus sacri cubiculi*, Cod. Theod. VI.8; cf. R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les Institutions byzantines* I (Berlin, 1967), p. 355. The decree of 425, especially its second part, points to a foundation that had just been carried out, and it is by no means a detailed regulation of an already existing institution (cf. *Futura deputabis* and *iubebit*). The μουσεῖον was, if it actually belonged to the fifth century, a different institution and belonged to the private endowment of Mouselios, as the text of the epigram actually says. N.B. L. p. 64 n. 56 seems to think there were two decrees of 27 Feb. 425 and, p. 65, n. 58, acknowledges the plausibility of C. Wendel's hypothesis that the northern Exedra mentioned in the second part of the decree belonged to the Basilica and not the Capitol. But in that case one ought to assume one decree (cf. in the second part: *supra dictum* – which has no connection), from which during the editing of the Cod. Theod. two parts were placed in different places (that is why the first part remains without an addressee) and other parts were not preserved at all. Therefore, the northern Exedra most likely belonged to the Capitol (see among others Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 172).

[23]   The formulations of the sources give hardly any explanation. Take, for example, Nicolas Myr. σοφιστεύσας ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει (Suda s.v. [III.469 Adler] or Priscian: *qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit* (Cassiod., *De orthogr.* 12; *Gramm. Lat.* VII [Keil] 207) compared with his own testimony: he undertook *rem arduam, sed officio professionis non indebitam* (*Dedication of the Inst. Gramm.*; *Gramm. Lat.* II. [Hertz] 2) or for Proklos' student Agapios, under whom John Lyd. heard readings of Plato and Aristotle (*De magistr.* III.26, 113 [Wunsch]). Pamprepios was probably publicly employed, whom Illus ἡδέως δέχεται καὶ ... λαμπρῶς τε ἐτίμησε καὶ σύνταξιν ἔδωκε. τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ ὡς διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου (Suda s.v. [IV.14 Adler]. Stephen Byz. (*Ethnica* s.v. ᾿Ανακτόριον 93 [Meineke]) mentions Eugenios (καὶ Εὐγένιος δέ. ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι σχολὰς διακοσμήσας ... . The remark hardly comes from Hermolaos, the excerpter of Stephen (cf. Gudemann, *RE* VIII,1,891), as if he had been his predecessor in a public position. That was, however, hardly just a university chair, but because of the plural either the (otherwise not attested) management of all the schools or (more likely) the management of the guild of (private?) teachers mentioned in the Cod. Just. (6.48.1.10: σωματεῖον διδασκάλων).

ἀπονενεμημένον ἀφορίσαντός μοι ἐπὶ τῆς Καπιτωλίδος αὐλῆς. Yet the Capitol does not appear to have been the only place for instruction by publicly paid teachers.[24] And in the seventh century there is further indication that instruction was concentrated in the Basilica.[25] Publicly paid teachers can be traced back in Constantinople to the time of Justinian's reign.[26]

[392] In spite of all these indications, it seems daring to assume that Theodosios' school existed for long, at least in the form which the decree provided.[27] L.'s conclusion in particular (p. 65) appears to accept cautiously that '*il est certain, que de ce moment* (the founding through Theodosios) *l'Ecole impériale de la capitale est en voie de devenir la seule université de l'Orient byzantin.*' Apart from the fact Theodosios' foundation ought not

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[24]   In the adaptation of the Cod. Theod. VI.21.1 (see n. 9) in the Cod. Just. (12.15.1) there is no longer any mention of the 'auditorium' since the decree ought to hold good for all publicly employed teachers in the city (... *in hac regia urbe professionem suam exercentes et inter statutos connumeratos*).

[25]   The statement of philosophy in the foreword of Theophyl. Sim. (20.21 [de Boor] τῆς βασιλέως στοᾶς ἐξωστρακίσθην) is most probably to be understood thus, as it is by L. p. 78 and n. 20. Agathias' information could also prove relevant (Hist. II.29, 78 [Keydell]) that a certain Uranios sat among bookshops in front of the Basilica (ἰὼν πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν βιβλίων ἥμενος πωλητηρίοις) and taught, which Agathias portrays as a parody of Socrates. Finally, should L.'s interpretation of a passus in the (fragmentary version of) the Life of Anania (p. 83 with n. 35) be applicable that with the Basilica *la cour royale* is understood, the passage can be used as further proof. In this context is advisable to be wary of considering this a new transfer of the university. The often-cited year 587 is rightly regarded by L., p. 65 n. 58, as a chimera. Probably it is more the case of educational institutions generally being founded in many locations in the city and certain instructional emphases moved to different localities from time to time, in this case probably because the Capitol ceased to be available for instruction before the Basilica did, even if the preference for the Basilica in the seventh century does not imply that classes were again exclusively private. In Justinian's time there was supposedly legal (public?) education offered in the Basilica, as is apparent from the Adespoton *Anth. Palat.* IX.660 (εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τῶν παιδευτηρίων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ). This fact is probably connected to dispensation of justice in the Basilica in the sixth and seventh centuries. Cf. Guilland, *Études ...* vol. 2, p. 4 with nn. 24–28.

[26]   The *statuti* of n. 24 may be considered as such. John Lyd. (1.1, 117: ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ τοῦ δημοσίου) also is said to have had public financial support in the Capitol. In the western part of the empire publically paid teachers are found down to the sixth century. Cf. Jones, op. cit., p. 707. In reading the sources it is striking how often the greatest problems occur with salaries for jobs.

[27]   The money that Pamprepios received (see n. 23) thus differs from a normal teachers' salary.

to be called a university, it was surely not the only school in the empire. Especially when we accept L.'s thesis (pp. 68–73) that the reign of Justinian inflicted a death blow to publicly supported education, one must observe that until then Constantinople was not the only cultural centre in the empire, but stood alongside others that possessed comparable educational institutions. At best one could speak of the 'only university' in the empire in the seventh century, but there is neither a trace of a special concentration of educational resources nor publicly supported education.[28] After all, as is known, only the private schools undertook the task of passing on education to the Middle Ages, and it becomes clear from political developments that it was also at that period that Constantinople could be established as the only educational centre in the empire.[29]

However, in Late Antiquity education as a publicly established institution remained an attempt that could only be partially realized and only for a limited period of time. Private education proved to be stronger and characterised education in Byzantium. And besides these private schools, the role of private circles, the individual transmission of educational values, especially where we are inclined to speak of a university level of tuition, cannot be overestimated.

... Instead of a book review, the reader receives here only the revision of one chapter, but he (or she) may also rest assured that the work of L. is worthy of ongoing discussion even in cases of disagreement with his conclusions. [393] It is self-evident that the first attempt at a general synthesis cannot be accepted in every detail, but it is a mark of its quality that it provokes discussion everywhere.

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[28]   The fact that the Basilica again housed educational institutions in the seventh century (see n. 25) says nothing about a public endowment for teachers and neither does the fact that teachers can be discovered in Constantinople in the post-Justinian period, like the so-called Pseudo-Elias; cf. L.G. Westerink, *Pseudo-Elias, Lectures on Porphyry's Isagoge* (Amsterdam, 1967), p. xiii. Up to the present there is no proof that the much discussed Stephen of Alexandria ever taught in Constantinople, since the evidence of H. Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino* (Bonn, 1880), pp. 3–5, on which scholars tend to rely (including L. p. 80 with n. 29), rests on a combination of Stephen's title οἰκουμενικός or καθολικὸς διδάσκαλος and the utterly legendary οἰκουμενικὸν διδασκαλεῖον evidently destroyed by Leo III (details on this in the work cited in n. 1). Besides, Stephen did not demonstrably work as a public teacher, since if L.G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (Amsterdam, 1962), p. xxiv, says that Stephen taught Platonic philosophy 'publicly' only after 600, he uses that word in contrast to 'secretly' (out of being afraid of the Christians) and not as 'publicly supported' in contrast to 'private'.

[29]   For full treatment, see the work cited in n. 1.

The Iconoclast Iambic Verses on the Chalke

Die Ikonoklastischen Jamben an der Chalke

[376] The most recent debate on dating the work by the four iconoclast poets John, Ignatios, Sergios and Stephen, whose iambic verses were refuted by Theodore of Stoudios[1], has been initiated by Wanda Wolska-Conus.[2] She wants to place the iambic works at the beginning of iconoclasm; she claims Leo V rediscovered one of these iambic verses and had it placed on the Chalke, while the others were discovered by the Studite monk Letoios and sent to the exiled Theodore.

The author of the present essay, however, does not hold with this scenario, and argues that these iambic verses are invectives dating to the year 815, which were placed on the Chalke as an inscription at the time when the figure of Christ was replaced by a cross. It was this event which incited Theodore's disapproval.[3]

At the same time as the author, S. Gero began to re-examine these iambic verses, dated them to the time of Leo III – partly before 726 – and used them as original testimonies for the beginning of iconoclasm.[4] As with Wolska-Conus, Gero's starting point is more like a *petitio principii* – especially the beginning of iconoclasm is known for an intensive veneration of the cross – and therefore an incorrect *argumentum ex silentio* – that the iambic verses do not reveal any

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[1]   Theod. Studites, Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ποιημάτων... PG 99, 436B–478A.

[2]   'De quibusdam Ignatiis', *Trav. et Mém*. 4 (1970) 329–60, especially 351–7.

[3]   P. Speck, 'Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel. Präzisierungen zur Frage des höheren Schulwesens in Byzanz im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert', *Byz. Archiv* 14 (Munich, 1974), p. 74 n. 3. The results presented there will not be repeated here.

[4]   S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources*, Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., vol. 346 (Subsidia 41) (Louvain, 1973), pp. 113–26 (Chapter X: The Iconoclastic Iambic Poems), and p. 174f.

of the subtle christological [377] argumentation of the time after 754 – than an attempt to date the iambic verses with the help of given circumstances.[5] Gero's interpretations are often not very convincing[6] especially since they fail to answer important questions.[7]

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[5]   Especially troublesome in connection with this is the false interpretation of Theodore's letter 257 addressed to his monk Letoios (ed. A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* VIII [Rome, 1871], p. 208. This does not say that Letoios 'discovered the verses after a long search in obscure manuscripts' (Gero, p. 125), but that Letoios sent Theodore the iambic poems after Theodore had already received them from someone else and had finished the ἀνατροπή (see Speck, 'Parerga zu den Epigrammen des Theodoros Studites', Ἑλληνικὰ 18 (1964), pp. 11–43, 207f., at 33f.). This also negates Gero's hypothesis (p. 125 n. 57) that Theodore refuted the so-called ὑπογραφή and then received the iambics from Letoios; and that Theodore then refuted them once more and sent the whole work to Letoios, who then again added some iambic verses at the end and thus created the archetype of our text. In the decisive sentence of the letter (μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτίσαι με τὴν ἀνατροπὴν ἐδεξάμην πάλιν τοὺς ἰάμβους) Gero overlooks the πάλιν. Thus, Theodore had received the iambic verses twice but after the first time had already composed the ἀνατροπή. Who it was who then added the additional, un-refuted, iambic poems (476B–478A) cannot be explained. That Theodore did not refute them says only that he wanted to rebut the epigraphic ones, those which had caused the clash. So far as concerns the iambic verses put at the end, it appears that John's epigram, with the same acrostic as the first four (436B–437B) was a second draft, to be used as an alternative, while the one of Ignatios (476C) seems an unused early draft (acrostic without a cross in the middle). The μονόστιχον (476D: ἐχθροὺς τροποῦμαι καὶ φονεύω βαρβάρους) was most likely inscribed on a cross (one could ask hypothetically: 'Was it intended for the Chalke?'), and the last iambic poem (477A) seems like an alternative draft for the anonymous fifth epigram (437C). That these iambics were in circulation, as well as the first five, which were used as inscriptions, can be seen by the fact that they were added after the ἀνατροπή (by Theodore himself? by his editors after his death?). This is not to say that they were also used as inscriptions.

[6]   He interprets (p. 114 n. 6), iambic poem 5, line 6 (437C): ἐν πύλαις ἀνακτόρων as if the cross had been put up in several places. He overlooks that the plural πύλαις was used to avoid a hiatus. He (p. 122) relates the γραφὲν γὰρ ὧδε (Sergios 437B, line 4; see further p. 376 n. 3) to an 'employment ... in Sergius' own (cathedral?) church', because no emperor is mentioned and the acrostic seems to reveal a personal declaration of faith.

[7]   One might ask why Letoios sent the iambic verses to Theodore when they were not 'the latest iconoclastic pamphlets bandied about in the streets (p. 126)', and why Theodore did not just write a refutation but even wrote 'better' iambic verses of the orthodox aimed against them. The occasion for his concern with the iambic verses was as intense and topical as the ὑπογραφή; namely, the placing of the five iambic verses on the Chalke. The fact that he does not address or attack the authors of the poems 'personally' (Gero, pp. 120 and 124) does not mean that they originate in the 8th century, rather that Theodore wanted to refute them in an 'objective' way, while in political exile.

[378] Besides external arguments placing the iambic verses and their authors in the ninth century,[8] the verses themselves contain internal criteria which do not allow any other dating. This becomes especially clear with John's iambic poem (436B) with the acrostic: χριστου το παθος ελπις ιωαννηι:

Χρυσογραφοῦσι   Χρισ   Τ   ὸν   οἱ   θεηγόροl
'Ρήσει προφητῶν, μὴ βλέπ Ο ντες τοῖς   κάτΩ.
'Ισηγόρων γὰρ   Ε   Λ   Π   Ι   Σ   ἡ θεοπιστίΑ.
Σκιογράφων   δὲ   τὴν   π Α λίνδρομον   πλάνηΝ
Τρανῶς   πατοῦσιν   ὡς   Θ εῷ   μισουμένηΝ.
Οἷς   συμπνέοντες   οἱ   φ Ο ροῦντες   τὰ   στέφΗ
'Υψοῦσι   φαιδρῶς   Σ ταυρὸν εὐσεβεῖ κρίσεl.

This can be interpreted as follows: Those who speak about God, the θεηγόροι, are the true theologians, i.e., iconoclasts. They represent Christ in gold and give no consideration to (pay no heed to) the things that happen in the world below. When one assumes that the σκιογράφοι of verse 4 means iconophiles,[9] χρυσογραφῶ can only have a metaphorical meaning, perhaps: to represent with golden words. Adding in the fact that that iconoclasts ignore the worldly in this depiction, an encoded meaning of the first verse emerges; namely, that they only represent Christ as golden in a celestial context. This type of Christ-representation corresponds with what the prophets said – one can think of Tob. 13.17; Cant. 5.11; Sirac. 50.9; Agg. 2.8f., for example. It follows that the representation of Christ in his heavenly (i.e., divine) context is appropriate in gold (as the iconoclasts do with words but not with images), but not here on earth, since earth has not been taken into consideration.

The epigram also offers the missing christological [379] argumentation, for it is a principal iconophile argument for the portrayability of Christ that his becoming human necessarily includes this.[10]

The following verse means that the hope of those who argue like this (ἰσηγόρων) is trust in God. Hidden behind this is the realization that the hope

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[8]   See esp. as above, n. 3.

[9]   With a pejorative secondary meaning as Gero (p. 118 n. 23) correctly notes.

[10]   This does not mean that some ideas in the iambic verses seem 'old' and, as one might conclude, could also date back to the beginning of iconoclasm. Compare, for example, A. Grabar's analysis of epigram 5, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), pp. 134–36. Also, the old arguments (like the prohibition of images in the Old Testament) remained valid for both sides.

of seeing God cannot be fulfilled in this world, but in the afterlife whereto
mankind is carried by faith. Compare, for example, Matthew 5.8; 1. John 3.2
(seeing God in the afterlife). Therefore the first lines demonstrate a highly
subtle and epigrammatically concise argumentation which indeed might be
assigned to John the Grammarian.

The remaining lines of the poem are simpler: they fight the recurring heresy
(παλίνδρομον πλάνην) of the shadow painters openly, as God hates it. In
agreement with them,[11] those who carry the crown lift the cross magnificently
with their pious judgement. Especially important is the παλίνδρομον πλάνην.
It can only mean that the heresy had already been stamped out once and then
(through the council of 787) raised its head once more. Any other interpretation
would seem forced.

Ignatios' epigram (437A), especially line 4f., provides additional proof for
the composition of the iambic verses in the second phase of iconoclasm (and
therefore in connection with the placement of the cross on the Chalke in 815).
The Λόγος is addressed: In order that You strengthen reverence on earth and
further reveal the knowledge of your inner self, You gave the law to represent
only the cross (... σταυρὸν ἐγγράφειν μόνον).[12]

> Ἀπαξιοῖς δὲ τεχνικῆς ὕλης ὕπο
> τοιχογραφεῖσθαι· δῆλον ὡς πρὶν ἐνθάδε.

[380] Behold, the greatest rulers allow it (αὐτὸν sc. σταυρὸν) to be mounted as
a victory-bringing sign. δῆλον ὡς πρὶν ἐνθάδε means that what was formerly
displayed (representation of the cross alone; denial of images) is here – in
this location, i.e., the Chalke – evident just as at an earlier occasion (namely
before 787[13]), that is to say that one does not see any image, but rather a cross.
Once more and just as in earlier times the will of the Λόγος has found its

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[11]   It speaks for the author's self-assessment as an iconoclast theologian that he presents
himself as an originator but the emperor only as συμπνέων.

[12]   The point of the statement is the paradox: clear knowledge of Christ cannot be
brought about by images but only through depictions of crosses.

[13]   This would be an argument for the fact that Leo III had already had a cross placed on
the Chalke. See C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 119 and most recently
Gero, p. 114 n. 7 (disapproving).

expression.[14] This line can also only be understood in the context of the second iconoclasm.[15]

It is unfortunate that due to this conclusion the sources for the beginnings of iconoclasm become even fewer. More valuable though than a false interpretation regarding the beginnings is a more thorough one about the situation of 815[16] which has now been made possible with the help of the iambic verses.

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[14] A less elegant possibility would be to connect δῆλον (like αὐτὸν in line 6) with σταυρὸν in line 4 and to interpret ἀπαξιοῖς ... τοιχογραφεῖσθαι as parenthesis: the cross which is visible here now as it was earlier. This interpretation would have the same result: the earlier condition is regained through the removal of the image of Christ and the placement of the cross.

[15] Gero, p. 121 n. 38 translates: 'as clearly (now) as before' and interprets: 'The meaning, I suppose, is that the Old Testament prohibitions of idolatry are still valid.' He neglects, though, the ἐνθάδε which undoubtedly points to a locality.

[16] It is possible that the cross and the inscriptions with the iambic verses were not put up immediately after the removal of the image of Christ. The iambic poems might have been put up even later than the cross. Theodore's letter to Letoios actually dates to the years 816–818, see above n. 3.

Peter of Sicily, his *Historia* and the Archbishop of Bulgaria

Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien

[381] The main oeuvre of Peter of Sicily has the following title in the only manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 511: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πέτρου Σικελιώτου ἱστορία χρειώδης, ἔλεγχός τε καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας αἱρέσεως τῶν Μανιχαίων, τῶν καὶ Παυλικιάνων λεγομένων, προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας.[1] In §§1–6, in which the archbishop alone is addressed (§2: ἀρχιποίμην; §6: θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή),[2] Peter writes that sometimes one must not be silent, and unaffected language is better than all frills of rhetoric (§1). Therefore he felt obliged, trusting in the Lord and in the archbishop's prayers, to present the archbishop with a description of the Manichaeans, i.e., the Paulicians[3] (§2). Despite all the differences the two heresies are one and the same (§3). The occasion was a diplomatic mission to the Paulicians, which he undertook on behalf of the emperor Basil I in the context of a prisoner exchange (§4).[4] He spent some time with the Paulicians in

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[1]   After the edition of Denise Papachryssanthou, tr. J. Gouillard, in 'Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure', *Trav. et. Mém.* 4 (1970), pp. 1–227, esp. 7.

[2]   The existence of an archbishop of Bulgaria during the period of the postulated time of composition is incontestably proven by P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *Trav. et Mém.* 5 (1973), pp. 1–145, esp. 20f. This work of Lemerle's is particularly important because it brings the discussion of the Paulicians down from the heights of hypothetical structures to the ground of proofs found in the sources.

[3]   συνεῖδον καθεξῆς γράψαι ὑμῖν; the editor points to Luke 1.3 (ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ ... καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι). This proves that the work must have been composed here for the archbishop.

[4]   Details in Lemerle, p. 18f.

Tephrike and had many discussions with them but also learned a lot about them from the orthodox living there. In particular he had heard that the godless ones intended to send missionaries to Bulgaria, as it was considered to be easy to lead new believers astray. This is the reason for him writing (§5).[5] He therefore presents his findings to the 'honorable changers'[6]. The archbishop should, however, accept his good intention, although he [382] will not find good style, as he will realise from what follows (§6).[7]

In contrast to this, where the composition for the archbishop is supposed to have been stimulated by possible dangers of missionary activities,[8] Peter writes at the end of his *Historia* that he was in Tephrike at the time of Chrysocheiros following Basil I's orders to exchange prisoners (§187). He had stayed there for nine months while Basil and Zosimos, the dirty 'travelling companions',[9] were still alive – and found out the things stated above due to extensive and laborious research, and at the emperor's command had made the effort to reveal it to all people (§188).[10] This statement describes a general publication on behalf of the emperor .

Lemerle resolves this contradiction, that is also expressed in the title,[11] by assuming[12] that the emperor Basil not only charged Peter with undertaking an exchange of prisoners but also with a 'mission d'information et propagande'. Peter learned about a planned mission to Bulgaria on the spot and upon his return included the references to this in the final edition of the *Historia*.[13]

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[5] διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον ἐγὼ ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

[6] Probably the clergy of Bulgaria. Cf. Lemerle, p. 20 n. 4.

[7] καθὼς γνώσῃ ἐν τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις. One should not conclude from this affected modesty topos, as does Lemerle, p. 20, that the archbishop was a highly learned man (un fin lettré).

[8] The reason for Peter's supposition may have to be seen in the fact that the Paulicians were instructing the 'Scythian slaves' (Slavs, Bulgarians) among them, who supposedly had fled to them (?). Peter mocks this since the instruction amounted to nothing more than uncomprehending memorization of the Greek New Testament; *Logos* 2 (PG 104, 1333D–1336A).

[9] συνέκδημοι; regarding the title (according 2 Corinth. 8, 19) and the two title bearers, students of the last διδάσκαλος, Sergios, see Lemerle, pp. 18 and 123.

[10] περὶ τῶν προτεθέντων ἀκριβῶς ἐρευνήσαντες καὶ φιλοπονήσαντες ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἐσπουδάσαμεν κατάδηλα γενέσθαι τῇ ἐν θεῷ κελεύσει τῶν ... βασιλέων.

[11] p. 18.

[12] p. 20f.

[13] According to Lemerle, p. 22, the theological chapters were already conceived or composed before the return trip.

However, the inconsistency is not solved, because the last paragraphs too were composed after Peter's return. One has to imagine two absolutely separate yet chronologically close stages: a general publication and a 'composition' for the archbishop of Bulgaria.[14]

[383] In fact, the manuscript offers the necessary clues. §6 ends with the following text:

τῷ προέδρῳ Βουλγαρίας, Πέτρος
Πρόλογος

Lemerle considers the first line to be a dedication (dédicace);[15] its position in the text, however, is peculiar, as the author has already addressed the archbishop. One has to ask the question whether this dedication was original, but it is impossible to answer, as only one manuscript exists. However the words τῷ προέδρῳ Βουλγαρίας, Πέτρος can hardly be a dedication (honestly, what would it be doing in this place?); rather they have the exact form of a *titulus* of a letter. So §§1–6 turn out to be a letter from Peter to the archbishop. The actual *Historia* begins with §7, which is also proved by the word Πρόλογος.

The editor of the corpus of Peter's anti-Paulician writings[16] placed this letter with appended *titulus* before the *Historia*. The letter belongs there, as it is evidently meant as an accompaniment for a copy which was sent to the archbishop, maybe even following a request from him, in light of the danger of a Paulician mission. However, the letter is so stilted and over the top that one must conclude the intention of an exclusive composition for the archbishop.

For the same reason the main title of the work ended up before this accompanying letter. But the title does not disguise the fact, instead it reveals it: ... προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας,[17] just as if it (sc. the *Historia*) had been written (or rewritten) for the archbishop of Bulgaria.

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[14] Lemerle, p. 25, supposes that for some special reason Peter added §§1–6 later to the *Historia*.

[15] p. 20.

[16] This is *Vat. gr.* 511, cf. Lemerle, p. 17f.

[17] The translation of this passage: 'en forme [de discours] adressé à l'archevêque de Bulgarie,' ed. p. 6 (cf. Lemerle, p. 18) in my opinion omits the ὡς. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His Age* (London, 1973), p. 676, translates indeed correctly: 'represented as being addressed to the archbishop of Bulgaria' but then uses the realisation that the dedication is 'fictional, not genuine,' as further evidence for the thesis of Garsoian (see below n. 26), pp. 70–73 that Peter's entire *Historia* is a later fabrication.

Therefore it should be clear that the preamble of the *Historia* (§1–6) was originally a letter to the archbishop and that the actual work begins with §7 and was according to §§ 187, 188 published in its entirety by imperial order.

[384] Otherwise, the excellent and impartial analysis of Peter's anti-Paulician writings by Lemerle will only occasionally trigger individual discussions. Just one point shall be discussed here, one that follows from the preceding argument.

In the letter to the archbishop as well as in the concluding chapters Peter stresses that he made on the spot enquiries about the Paulicians.[18] So far as the clearly recognizable historical part of the *Historia* (§93–186) is concerned, Lemerle considers it improbable that the Paulicians had archives or kept a chronicle. What Peter found was an official '*vulgata*' that departed in many aspects from the truth, even if only in order to let a coherent history of the Paulicians emerge. Nevertheless it is certain that the Paulicians were behind all the abuse and contempt.[19]

In his analysis of the second part of the *Historia*, Lemerle subdivides it into three parts:[20]

1. The history of the διδάσκαλοι up to Sergios; here Peter was conveying the tradition which was established among the Paulicians.
2. The story of Sergios; here Peter was very detailed, because he considered him to be very dangerous for the faith and because he had acquired – via his works and directly from his last students – a lot of reliable information about him.
3. The period of armed conflict; Peter seemed to pass over this very quickly, because it is not his topic and maybe also because it was noted in a confidential report to the emperor.

To begin with the third point, the only thing Peter says about this period is that Karbeas came to power (after the death of Sergios) and founded Tephrike because his followers had become so numerous and because there, between Arabs, Armenians, and Byzantines (§184), he could instigate a skillful policy of changing sides and going into hiding (§185). After Karbeas' death, Chrysocheiros assumed the leadership (§186).

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[18] See the paraphrases on p. 22 above.
[19] p. 56; cf. also p. 115.
[20] p. 24.

For this rather meager information Peter had no need to make enquiries on the spot. Just about everyone in Constantinople knew [385] more,[21] so that the assumption of a confidential report sent to the emperor becomes unlikely. But if Peter's report was based on inquiries in Tephrike, why then did he stop so soon after Sergios' death?[22] Furthermore it seems that Peter exaggerates his statements about the conversations with the Paulicians.[23] If he says in the theological part that he often told them the truth to their faces,[24] this might perhaps fit a theological dispute within the security of the walls of Constantinople, but certainly not a diplomatic mission – at the peak of Paulician power[25] – with the purpose of a prisoner exchange, which to top it all seems to have taken place successfully.

But all difficulties – according to Lemerle's assumption Peter would have at least had to gather and process the material for the history of Sergios himself – resolve themselves, if one supposes that Peter's research and information-gathering never took place. It is also sufficient to say that Peter acquired a Paulician history of the six διδάσκαλοι during his stay at Tephrike and used it as model for his historical part.[26]

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[21]   Concerning, for example, the flight of Karbeas to Argaoun (Lemerle, p. 88f.) or the establishment of Amara (Lemerle, p. 88 n. 13). Lemerle, p. 92, thinks it possible that Photios, who otherwise depends entirely on Peter, had additional information about Karbeas.

[22]   The stopping of the massacre of the Βανιῶται at the suggestion of the συνέκδημος Theodotos (§173f.) is the last report before the brief facts about Karbeas.

[23]   But Peter does not say that he spoke with the two still living students of Sergios, the συνέκδημοι Basil and Zosimos as Lemerle (see above, n. 9; in addition also p. 115) seems to assume. They were only still alive at the time when he claims to have set out to gather information in Tephrike (§188).

[24]   ὅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλάκις κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶπον (§44).

[25]   For Peter, it was already to the emperor's credit that the Paulicians' heresy was now no longer a secret but instead triumphed openly (§89).

[26]   A view that touches on the (rather unnecessarily complicated) thesis of Nina Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967), pp. 62–67, in which she assumes a source A for Peter, which was 'a Paulician history of their own sect'. K. Yuzbashian postulates such a source, too, as well as oral information, 'De l'origine du nom Pauliciens', *Rev. des Et. Arm.* n.s. 9 (1972), pp. 355–77, at p. 377; he also wants to add the Kallinike episode (§84–93), but cf. Lemerle, pp. 49–53. Besides, Lemerle also assumes written Paulician sources for some paragraphs, namely, (p. 116) for the dialogue between the 'Manichaean woman' and young Sergios (§138–40, 144–6) and (p. 126) for the interrogation of Gegnesios by the Patriarch (§115–20). The book of M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974) adds nothing to the topic; cf. meanwhile [386] his 'étude critique' of

[386] How Peter proceeded with editing is almost impossible to establish firmly.[27] It seems likely that he was careful to exclude positive elements[28] and to suppress Paulician theological argumentation[29] or replace it with an orthodox one,[30] probably in order not to tempt his readers.[31] His *Historia* is not a historical work, but an anti-Paulician deterrent, a ἰστωρία χρειώδης, as the title says.

It seems very likely that Peter used a collection of letters of Sergios. He stresses it[32] and also the fact that the citations of Sergios are discussed in some sections (§158–168) can be considered as proof. Additional citations look as though Peter found them in his source and copied them.[33]

This source of Peter's, the Paulician 'Ecclesiastical History,' stopped most likely with the συνέκδημοι, the co-successors of Sergios, and with the cessation of the massacre of the Βανιῶται. It might thus have originated soon after 835 in Argaoun.[34]

Lemerle in *Byzantinoslavica* 35 (1974), pp. 189–209, at pp. 201–203, where Loos also tries to save Paul, the son of Kallinike, for the Paulician tradition with a hypothesis.

[27] He probably did not make further enquiries, cf. his admission (§103), Ὁ γὰρ βασιλεύς οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως μαθὼν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν, ἀποστέλλει βασιλικόν τινα ... .

[28] For example, the Paulicians remained unrepentant during the interrogations by Symeon (§106); yet despite that they were not punished, – only because Symeon was stupid and learned their teachings? Or because Symeon was already positively converted? He was (because of this?) dismissed in Constantinople (§107: οἴκοι μένων).

[29] So for example in the dispute between Symeon and Justus about Coloss. 1.16–17 (§110f.); the argumentation thus remains hypothetical, cf. also Lemerle, p. 127.

[30] In the dialogue of the 'Manichaean woman' with the young Sergios (§138–40), the Paulician viewpoint remains open. But Peter adds a long orthodox one (§141–3).

[31] When Peter reports a Paulician interpretation (§146), he has already presented the orthodox one beforehand (§145), and besides the Paulician one may well have seemed absurd and thus harmless to him.

[32] Ἐλέγξω σε ... ἐκ τῶν σῶν οἰκείων ῥημάτων (§158); Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ὀλίγα συλλέξαντες ... παρεθέμεθα εἰς ἔνδειξιν (§169).

[33] Cf. the quotation regarding the missionary journeys of Sergios (§153). It is important that the quotation in which Sergios turns against the raids in Romania (§157) is linked by Peter with general insults (§154: children are ripped away from a mother's breast and sold as slaves, etc.) and not mentioned when the raids are mentioned (§178) where it belonged originally; cf. also Lemerle, p. 74.

[34] We learn nothing about the condition of the Paulician state under the military single [387] rule of Karbeas and Chrysocheiros. But the organization before the arrival of Karbeas in Argaoun can hypothetically be reconstructed (see also Lemerle, p. 123) and could even be

[387] The personal 'research' of Peter therefore reduces itself to the information that two of the συνέκδημοι were still alive at the time of his visit – but nothing else. That is very little, if one pictures a modern type of interested and enquiring envoy.[35] But it seems significant for the intellectual requirements of the Macedonian renaissance that Peter – also in order to strengthen the foundations for his argument – prefers to be seen as an 'interested' and 'probing' diplomat.[36] But, even if we should have one Byzantine scholar less because of the proposed hypothesis, we can get over the loss, since it is Peter's merit to have preserved for us a Paulician history, paraphrased in an orthodox way, of the six διδάσκαλοι and therefore maybe he might have collected more material than a historically interested diplomat could have.

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seen in the tradition of an attempt at a Christian-utopian state: A 'parliament' of theologians-teachers, the συνέκδημοι (Peter names six and ἕτεροι πολλοί) precedes a council of three, the μυστικώτεροι (§182). The νοτάριοι might have taken care of the administration (§183). The soldiers are the ἄστατοι, who might have been originally a kind of 'partisan' (§177f.). All had the same lifestyle (cf. Lemerle, p. 123) and might have been obliged to work for their own livelihood (§180: Sergios hews boards). Conflicts in this idealistic conception seemed at any rate to be unavoidable from the beginning (Sergios turns against the raids, see above n. 33) so that the military autocracy was inevitable as a consequence.

[35]   But was Peter really in Tephrike for nine months? Or, was he only away from Constantinople for nine months? The notice in the letter to the archbishop raises suspicion (§5): οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκεῖσε κατοικούντων ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν μαθών. One can scarcely assume that many orthodox Christians lived in Tephrike (as also by Lemerle, p. 18 n. 1). Peter must have had to wait on the border.

[36]   Concerning declarations like: ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐμάθομεν (§94; about the creation of the Paulician canon), one can best interpret these as also standing in the source.

V

A Byzantine Depiction of
Ancient Athens

Eine byzantinische Darstellung der antiken Stadt Athen

[415] Secular Byzantine paintings are only known through written sources. These demonstrate, though, that there was a great variety of possible themes to choose from.[1] The famous poem about Athens by Michael Choniates[2] has to be placed into the context of these sources. It can only be understood with the assumption that Michael, in his disappointment at not finding anything of ancient Athens, had a picture (a mural?) of this city made and composed the so-called elegy as an 'accompanying poem' (not necessarily as titulus; see below),

The proof for this assumption lies in the text:

verses 1–2:   Ἔρως Ἀθηνῶν τῶν πάλαι θρυλουμένων
                ἔγραψε ταῦτα ταῖς σκιαῖς προσαθύρων.

The ταῦτα in verse 2 can hardly stand for the poem itself.[3] Instead it points

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[1]   Compare, for example, the sources collected by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1972), among others p. 224f. (deeds of emperors; deeds of sultans [in the house of Alexios Axuch]), p. 234 (obscene representations) or p. 248 (gardens as ceiling paintings); see also S. Runciman, 'Blachernae Palace and Its Decorations', in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 277–83. – I thank A. Kambylis (Hamburg), and especially my honoured teacher, H. Herter (Bonn), who once collected and interpreted the lamentations regarding Athens's downfall up to the time of Michael Choniates ('Athen im Bilde der Römerzeit. Zu einem Epigramm Senecas', in *Serta Philologica Aenipontana*, ed. R. Muth, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 7–8 [Insbruck, 1962], pp. 347–58), for their critical reading of the manuscript.
[2]   Latest critical edition by S.G. Mercati, 'Intorno all elegia di Michele Acominato sulla decadenza della città di Atene', Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, (Athens, 1935), pp. 423–27=*Collectanea Byzantina* I (Bari, 1970), pp. 483–88.
[3]   Thus interpreted by A. Ellissen, *Michael Akominatos von Chonä, Erzbischof von*

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toward something else, which is not identical with the poem. This has been thought to be an antiquarian work about Athens to which the poem forms a kind of prologue.[4] The meaning of γράφω (to write [416] or to paint) in verse 2 cannot be identified without additional references.[5] But ταῖς σκιαῖς προσαθύρων (the love for the old Athens makes fun of the shadow, the vague remains of the old city, i.e., it overcomes them) points more in the direction that ταῦτα stands for a depiction.

The same is true of the following train of thought in the poem: since Michael cannot see ancient Athens, he is like a lover who being separated from his beloved can be consoled by looking at pictures of the absent one (verses 4–12).[6] So the poet due to his love for Athens turns into a new Ixion, who approached a cloud which looked like Hera not knowing that he only embraced an image (verses 12–15: λαθὼν εἴδωλον ἠγκαλισμένος). Indeed, Michael continues, there is nothing left of all that once made Athens famous (verses 16–27: γνώρισμα δ'αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀμυδρόν τις ἴδοι) and concludes his poem:

> verses 28–30: συγγνωστὸς οὐκοῦν, εἴπερ οὐκ ἔχων βλέπειν
>   τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀοίδιμον πόλιν
>   ἴνδαλμα ταύτης γραφικῶς[7] ἐστησάμην.

Because he cannot see ancient Athens, one has to forgive him for creating

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Athen (Göttingen, 1848), p. 142: 'schrieb diese Worte (wrote these words)' or similarly E. Reisinger, *Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 42 (taken over by G. Soyter, *Byzantinische Dichtung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 28, [Athens, 1938], 46): 'schrieb diese Verse (wrote these verses)'.

[5] Cf. Ellissen, p. 144 (contradicting his translation): ... assuming that these verses are only the exordium of a longer poem; or F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* I (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 244, note 1: it (the threnos) appears like the poetic introduction to an antiquarian work on the monuments of Athens which was never carried out.

[5] A. Kambylis drew my attention to the following: Michael writes in verse 2 ἔγραψε (aorist, as in verse 30 ἐστησάμην; beginning and end of the poem!), while in verse 16 φεῦ οἷα πάσχω καὶ λέγω τε καὶ γράφω (in the middle of the work) he uses the present. Since γράφω in verse 16 means the present poem, ἔγραψε then surely points to another work, which in the context of the other circumstances can only be understood as a picture.

[6] Mercati, p. 424 refers to Procop. Gaz., epist. 13 (=epist. 26 Garzya–Loenertz) καὶ νῦν τοὺς σοφοὺς μιμοῦμαι τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος παραμυθοῦμαι τὸν ἔρωτα. Garzya–Loenertz proves this topos further.

[7] γραφικῶς writes Mercati *metri causa*; the manuscripts have γραφικόν.

a picture of the city by means of painting.[8] These last verses, however, do not allow a metaphorical [417] interpretation (a book on Athens or an idea of Athens in his imagination); they have to be related to an image. The slight irony[9] with which Michael speaks as if he accuses himself and seems to have to justify his action (including the comparison with Ixion as well) can be explained by the fact that the author wants to defuse potential arguments from adversaries. Nevertheless, these considerations suggest the existence of a corresponding picture. The apparent justification has then more to do with the theme of the picture (perhaps a very accessible one).[10]

The title of the poem has to be interpreted in the same way:[11] Στίχοι τοῦ ... Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν. While ἀνιστόρησις – as far as I can see not recorded – even in connection with the interpretation of the poem – stands undoubtedly for a depiction,[12] the ἀρχέτυπος cannot be precisely defined. It seems to mean that the old, the 'original' Athens was depicted,[13] and maybe simultaneously that the depiction was also something new, something exemplary. Being different from the customary εἰς in tituli, the ἐπὶ might finally point toward the fact that the picture was the stimulus for the poem, but it was not written specifically for that occasion. Despite these uncertainties the title supports the assumption that Michael had a city view of ancient Athens made and wrote a poem in connection with it.[14]

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[8]   Interpreting the picture as the poem itself (as Reisinger [above n. 3]: my quill sketches a picture of her) is neither supported by ἐστησάμην, nor by the fact that the poem does not describe an image of Athens at all.

[9]   This tone should not be ignored, besides the elegaic-lamenting tone heard so far.

[10]   Given the diversity of profane subjects in the Byzantine art of painting, it seems that some subjects are more common than others, meaning that they are almost more 'canonic'. However further investigations would have to be undertaken before we can make any precise statement.

[11]   Never mind whether it was composed by Michael or (more likely) by someone else.

[12]   Compare ἀνιστορέω in the lexica of Lampe, Demetrakos, and Sophocles.

[13]   Cf. Anth. Gr. XVI, 151, 1–2: Ἀρχέτυπον Διδοῦς ἐρικυδέος, ὦ ξένε, λεύσσεις εἰκόνα θεσπεσίῳ κάλλεϊ λαμπομένην. Contrary to the editors of Anth. Gr. and Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἀρχέτυπος, one can use the word as an adjective, so that ἀρχέτυπος εἰκών becomes the same as our ἀρχέτυπος ἀνιστόρησις, an image that truly represents the original.

[14]   Against the actual existence of a corresponding picture one could argue along these lines, that Michael had only planned such a picture, or that the author of the title interpreted the poem in the sense of this paper, knowing nothing about the picture. But in both cases a

[418] One cannot imagine what this picture might have looked like. Since this poem is not an ἔκφρασις, there is no need to describe the elements which Michael misses in the Athens of his time (verses 21–5: courts, orators, feasts and wars). One might rather think of a city prospect in the sense of late antique city representations.[15]

Be that as it may, the explanation of the poem presented here can not only shed light on twelfth-century Byzantine secular painting, but also show how Michael Choniates counterbalanced his negative experience of Athens by using painting to reveal the lost past. This clearly shows a different attitude to that found, for example, in twelfth-century novel writers, who rather naively and in an unbroken relationship to Antiquity let their plots unfold in days of old. Michael seems to be the first who clearly demonstrates the 'Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes' (crisis of the Byzantine view of the world)[16] before 1204.[17] The way he accomplishes this shows traits which one would like to assign to a kind of renaissance.

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picture would be thought possible [418] so that the conclusions from the interpretation do not need to be changed. An additional question could be posed in the second case, whether the author of the title interpreted the poem in Michael's sense correctly.

[15]   The many architectural backgrounds in other scenes of Byzantine painting could give us an idea.

[16]   According to H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952).

[17]   G. Stadtmüller proves that the poem was written before 1204 in 'Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen', *Orientalia Christianica* XXXIII, 2 (Rome, 1934), p. 268, with reference to verse 17 (οἰκῶν 'Αθήνας).

Photios on the Mosaic in the Apse of Hagia Sophia

Photios über das Apsis-Mosaik der Hagia Sophia

[399] A few years ago, C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins made a thorough analysis of the mosaics in the apse of the Hagia Sophia and, amongst other things, came to the conclusion that in his 17th homily Photios referred to the very mosaic of the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ that still exists in the apse to this day.[1]

[400] Yet on two points the authors let us assume that their argument is not supported by the text of the sermon. Firstly, Photios does not say that the picture in question can be found in the apse; and then the reference in the text which points to the iconographic type of the picture cannot necessarily and unequivocally be connected to the mosaic. But a more precise interpretation of the text can overcome both reservations, so that it is even more certain that Photios preached his sermon on 29 March 867, on the occasion of the unveiling of the mosaic in the apse.

The information in the title, that Photios preached his sermon ὅτε τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐξεικονίσθη καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη μορφή,[2] needs to be seen in connection with the following passage from the sermon itself: τούτοις ἡμᾶς ἡ τῆς παρθένου μορφὴ ἐγχαραττομένη κατευφραίνει δεξιώσεσιν. οὐκ οἴνου κρατῆρος, ἀλλὰ καλοῦ θεάματος παρέχουσα ἀπαρύεσθαι.[3] Photios would like his listeners to make the association with an imperial reception (a δέξιμον); even if the picture does not offer wine, but rather a beautiful sight. Otherwise, the situation is the same: just as the emperor sits on high in the apse,

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[1] C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul', *Dumb. Oaks Paps.* 19 (1965) pp. 113–48, at p. 142f., here also all references to older literature on the subject.

[2] Cited as in B. Laourdas, 'Φωτίου ὁμιλίαι', Ἑλληνικά, Παράρτημα 12 (Thessalonike, 1959), p. 164.

[3] Ibid., pp. 166,32–167,2.

so too does the image of Mary.[4] The whole church becomes a reception hall. But the analogy of presentation goes further still: at a reception the emperor sat in the apse behind a curtain while the people gathered in the hall.[5] As the curtain was ceremoniously opened and the emperor was revealed to all, so the picture (perhaps at the delivery of the sermon, p. 166,20–32?[6]), which [401] at the beginning of the ceremony was hidden behind a curtain, was unveiled to dominate the apse and the hall. The ceremony should be imagined quite concretely.

As for the hitherto accepted evidence for the iconography of the picture, it should not be interpreted literally, but, should be read somewhat differently, in the light of Photios' intention:

The main theological problem of the iconophile-iconoclast controversy was, as everyone knows, the fact that one side explained that the divine nature of Christ was not representable, so that each image of Christ must cause a separation of his natures, while the other side postulated that the humanity of Christ necessarily implied his representability and that the rejection of representation denied his humanity. It is obvious that these two points of view are ultimately incompatible. For centuries people had found in the person of Mary paradoxes for rhetorical pleasure and had formulated these in ever new variants so that one could think in a naive, rhetorical way of Mary's 'two natures' (παρθένος/μήτηρ). But unlike Christ, where the two natures had led to unsolvable problems regarding his representation, there were no theological obstacles to depicting Mary's two 'natures'. Whereas an orator considering

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[4]   Because of the altar railings, the ciborium etc., it would be impossible for the picture to be presented like an icon of the Virgin Mary on display in the apse. The whole rhetorical effect would vanish, just as though the picture had been put on display somewhere in front of the apse.

[5]   Cf. Coripp. *In laudem Iustini* III, 255, ed. Averil Cameron (London, 1976); in the commentary, ibid., p. 191. Cameron misunderstands the scene: the Avars enter the hall (238) but remain standing at the entrance. Only when the curtain before the apse (*intima ostia*) is opened (255) do they go right on up to the emperor amid triple proskynesis; so, correctly, O. Treitinger, as below, pp. 55 and 197 or Const. Porph., *De cerim.* I.89, 406.5f (Bonn). Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), pp. 55f., 99f. and 197–202; E. Kantorowicz, 'Oriens Augusti – Lever du roi', *Dumb. Oaks Paps.* 17 (1963), pp. 117–77, at e.g. 158–60.

[6]   The reference to the picture as a tropaion (p. 166.21) of the victory over the μιξοβάρβαροι [401] (p. 166.23: meaning the Isaurians) and the consequent digression in praise of the emperors (who are in the church; p. 164 – title) could fit with the unveiling.

depictions of Christ would become entangled in heresy, he is free where Mary is concerned and can, so to speak, invent a further paradox – namely, that the artist has succeeded in uniting both 'natures' of Mary in a picture.

That is exactly Photios' intention – and one cannot avoid getting the impression that he really enjoys this possibility – when he apparently describes the picture:

Παρθένος μήτηρ, παρθένον ἅμα καὶ μητρικὸν ὁρῶσα καὶ πρὸς ἄμφω τὰς σχέσεις ἐν ἀμερίστῳ σχήματι μεριζομένη τὸ βούλημα καὶ μηδέτερον μέρος τῷ ἀτελεῖ ἐξυβρίζουσα. Ὑπόκρισις ἄρα τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιπνοίας ἡ ζωγράφος τέχνη οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς φύσιν τὴν μίμησιν ἔστησε. Καὶ γὰρ οἱονεὶ τῇ μὲν στοργῇ τῶν σπλάγχνων τὴν ὄψιν πρὸς τὸ τεχθὲν συμπαθῶς ἐπιστρέφουσα, οἷα δὲ τῷ ἀπαθεῖ καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ τοῦ τόκου εἰς ἄσχετον ἅμα καὶ ἀτάραχον ἁρμοζομένη κατάστημα διαθέσεως παραπλησίως φέρει τὸ ὄμμα σχηματιζόμενον.[7]

[402] To conclude from this that, in the picture, Mary turns her head towards the child[8] would be just as mistaken as the assumption that Photios had something like an ekphrasis in mind. More likely, the ζωγράφος τέχνη has managed to represent Mary's double nature: she looks at the child and yet does not.

This is not the case with the infant Christ, who can and must be represented and described only and unequivocally as a human being. It is – without the paradox of the impossible in representation – the κοινὸς πλάστης ... ὡς βρέφος ἀνακλινόμενον[9] and corresponds to the type of representation without having to specify it in any way.[10]

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[7]   Ibid., p. 167.10–17.

[8]   Thus A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin, Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), p. 185.

[9]   Ibid., p. 167.8f. Likewise Χριστὸς σαρκὶ ἐπεδήμησε καὶ τῆς τεκούσης ὠλέναις ἐφέρετο (p. 170.9) and Ἡ Παρθένος τὸν κτίστην ὡς βρέφος βαστάζει (p. 170.24f).

[10]   When Photios says that Mary with the child in her arms ἀκίνητος ἔστηκε (p. 171.24f) this is not evidence for a standing figure (see Grabar, *loc. cit.*; C. Mango, 'Documentary Evidence on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia', *BZ* 47 (1954), pp. 395–402, at 400). Instead (already mentioned in part by R.H. Jenkins' review of C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958] in *BZ* 52 (1959), pp. 106ff., at 107) it is evidence that, in almost every respect, Mary now stands unmovable in the light of the triumph of orthodoxy: Ἡμῖν κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ... κἂν ταῖς γραφαῖς – that is, the new, typically iconophile – ὥσπερ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς θεωρίαις – the iconoclasts would not have cast any doubts on these two things – ἀκίνητος ἔστηκε.) This is obviously no evidence for the type of depiction.

Since it is not Photios' intention to give a description of the picture or even just to outline it, the statements cited above do not contradict the mosaic in any way.[11] In fact, this very interpretation of the picture by Photios might provide further, positive proof of the identity of the pictures.

[403] The fact that Mary is looking at the child and yet at the same time is not looking at it, is possibly not only a rhetorical expression of Mary's two 'natures' but an indication of the strange, slightly cross-eyed position of Mary's left eye, in particular, in the mosaic.[12] Be that as it may, this interpretation of Photios fully corresponds to the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia and, in any case, can stand up to many present-day, art historical interpretations.[13]

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[11]   The following passage from the sermon rules out the idea that Photios preached his sermon in front of another picture while the mosaic in the apse was already available (this is the thesis of Grabar, ibid., and 191; cf. Mango and Jenkins, ibid.): Ἀλλ' οὖν, ἐπείπερ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμός, ὁ περιώνυμος οὗτος καὶ θεῖος ναός, οἰονεὶ τὰ τῆς ὁράσεως ἐκκεκολαμμένος μυστήρια ἐσκυθρώπαζεν (τῆς γὰρ εἰκονουργικῆς ἀναστηλώσεως οὔπω ἀπειλήφει τὸ δικαίωμα), ἀμυδρὰς τοῖς προσιοῦσι τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἠφίει τῆς ὄψεως καὶ στυγνὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐδείκνυτο πρόσωπον. Νῦν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀποτιθεμένη τὴν σκυθρωπότητα καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις πᾶσιν ἐνωραϊζομένη καὶ διαπρέπουσα ἀγλαΐσμασι ... (p. 168.17–23). The picture of Mary is therefore the first image in the church after the victory of orthodoxy or at most (but in spite of the plural, not necessarily) the conclusion and pinnacle of the initial design, to which additional represent-ations might have belonged; thus, for instance, but with different conclusions, Laourdas, Introduction, p. 91*f.

[12]   Cf. fig. 4 in Mango and Hawkins. Yet this is said with due reservation, as it seems impossible to the author, who is shortsighted, to see this detail from below in the church. Furthermore the mosaic is damaged just here, cf. Mango and Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[13]   Sapienti sat.

'Contributions Open to Further Illuminating Discussion'

'Die Beiträge stehen zur weiteren klärenden Diskussion'

[24] I understand the quote used as the title[1] as an invitation, which I gladly accept in the hope that no one will regard me competent to deal with every question at hand. For the purpose of an on-going discussion, I would therefore like to state a point of view on only specific points. Above all, I refrain from reviewing those essays to which I have little or nothing to contribute and will just give their titles.

It is a long known fact that Byzantine feudalism has peculiarities. Whether we still call this Byzantine 'development' 'feudalism' is in fact irrelevant – oh, my God! Maybe not? – , what really matters is whether we get a clear grasp of what we are actually dealing with, I think. The typological research presented by Zinaida Udal'cova ('Die Besonderheiten des Feudalismus in Byzanz', pp. 11–56) does not fit this description, it seems to me. To take just one example, does 'the distinctiveness of the socio-economic development of the cities in Byzantium' appear really 'most of all in the slave holder's polis, which was a centre of handicraft and trade and was preserved longer than in the West' (die Spezifik der sozialökonomischen Entwicklung der Städte in Byzanz vor allem in der länger als im Westen andauernden Erhaltung der Sklavenhalter-Polis [a lovely expression! – as an occasional viewer of science-fiction movies one gets certain associations] als Zentrum des Handwerks und des Handels [p. 25])? Or, is it not the case that the distinctiveness of these cities reflects the fact that – certainly for many reasons but probably unrelated to the development of cities – the Germans plundered and destroyed the western part of the empire

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[1]   The quotation is put together from the corresponding sentences from the prefaces of the following collections: *Besonderheiten der byzantinischen Feudalentwicklung. Eine Sammlung von Beiträgen zu den frühen Jahrhunderten*, ed. H. Köpstein, and *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, ed. Helga Köpstein and F. Winkelmann, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 50 and 51 (Berlin, 1983)

including its cities much earlier than the Slavs, Avars, and Arabs did the eastern part? The whole work of Udal'cova is abstract in this sense – one could almost say structuralist – and rarely depicts the concrete historical facts that influence the course of events.

Clarification of questions does not seem to be intended. I get this impression, for example, when with appropriate stylistic pomp a 'particularly unreconcilable position' is ascribed to Alan Cameron in his interpretation of the demes (p. 51 n. 118) and one speaks of his 'attack on the Marxist conception of the fight of the demes' (ibid., n. 119). When in contrast I. Jarry, who has been thoroughly refuted by Cameron, is highly praised and one acts as though the issue is still open, I can only [25] say that a discussion of the issue is not worth the trouble and skeptically await the results of the forthcoming typological examination of the question of demes (p. 52). It is self-evident that the last word about demes has not yet been spoken. I shall make a point about this in the following.

'Sometimes one is overcome by that well-known, familiar melancholy' (Rainer Maria Rilke) and one ponders why Soviet researchers had to disengage themselves from this field only to realize their mistake some years later when they were no longer able to catch up with scholarly developments. Marx and Engels certainly would have been better (and cleverer) and would have felt ashamed or even amused had they read (p. 15) about the 'rural organizations of free farmers (although they paid taxes to the government) in the Byzantine empire'. They might carry the idea further and determine that one is only truly free if one pays no taxes. Bakunin in Moscow? But this was probably not intended.

At least the essay is a very useful compendium of the views of Soviet scholars and related literature. And there is a consolation left for the reader (p. 53): even in the West serious works are published (Paul Lemerle on the Paulicians). Who would have thought that?

Alla Romančuk ('Die byzantinische Provinzstadt vom 7. Jahrhundert bis zur ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts auf Grund von Materialien aus Cherson' [The Byzantine Provincial Town from the 7th to the First Half of the 9th Century, Based on Material from Cherson], pp. 57–68) presents a history of the city of Cherson with the help of literary sources and archaeological materials. Because of the remote geographical location, broad conclusions are only meaningful to a certain extent.

Unfortunately, the interpretation of the sources is founded on the assumption of their prima-facie credibility and retains many out-of-date opinions; for

example that iconophile monks fled to Cherson ('A stream of immigrants' [Ein Emigratenstrom]) (p. 60). That is evidently wrong.[2]

When Theodore of Stoudios calls bishops exiled to Cherson, PG 99,1344C, φωστῆρες τῶν ἐν σκότει καὶ πλάνῃ βίου that has nothing to do with the place and its inhabitants, it rather refers to their courageous confession of faith in relation to the iconoclasts. Just because Theodore gives καί τινα διανομήν, 1344D, to the messenger, one cannot prove that 'the exiles suffered from hunger and need' (die Verbannten Hunger und Not litten) and that 'travellers(!) brought them food' (die Reisenden(!) ihnen Lebensmittel mitbrachten). The offering was probably like the pastırma that an arriving *Gastarbeiter* brings [26] his countrymen. Sometimes I still think that literary sources should not be open game.

Finally: even during the second Moicheian controversy after 806, Cherson served as a place of exile and had in addition a case of *moicheia* of its own, one that can hardly be explained.[3]

Next Helga Köpstein ('Zur Veränderung der Agrarverhältnisse in Byzanz vom 6. zum 10. Jahrhundert' [On the change in Agrarian Conditions in Byzantium from the 6th to the 10th Centuries], pp. 69–76) and F. Winkelmann ('Staat und Ideologie beim Übergang von der Spätantike zum byzantinischen Feudalismus' [State and Ideology in the Transition from Late Antiquity to Byzantine Feudalism], pp. 77–84)

We should consider, especially with regard to the end of Antiquity and late antique society, whether we still want to accept the arguments of Herakleios' justification propaganda, which held Phokas responsible for all the catastrophes and whether this emperor really has to be regarded as a monster who 'was like a shock for the empire'. Winkelmann (p. 81) thinks that the fights among the circus factions were a clear barometer of the crisis and he quotes the tenth miracle of St Demetrius in the collection of John[4] as proof of the chaotic

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[2]   Cf. P. Speck *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), pp. 58–62.

[3]   See ibid., p. 379, in addition the important source, which I overlooked there: Theod. Stud. *Letters* I, 48; PG 99,1069C–1084B, at 1072D: A group around Letoios was exiled in Cherson, Leon Balelades, then a bishop (around 809), the abbot Antonios and two other abbots were persecuted. I thank G. Fatouros for the reference.

[4]   P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius* (Paris, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 112–16. A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens in Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), p. 282f., cited the passages as proof that the demes' conflicts were always aimed at each other and had no common political purpose. However, the issue is more

conditions in the fight of the factions after the fall of Maurice. This is the tale of Lady Law and Order.

There it says: The saint always helps. After the death of Maurice of blessed memory, the devil (!) let love grow cold and spread the seeds of hatred.[5] This happened in the whole empire all the way to Constantinople; it was not enough for the demes to get drunk on the street with citizens' blood,[6] but for a change they also broke into their homes and slaughtered the inhabitants. From the top floor they even pinned those still living with spears to the ground,[7] women, children, the old and the sick, who were unable to escape. In the manner of barbarians they plundered the possessions [27] of comrades, acquaintances, and relatives[8] and in the end set fire to the houses, so that the people who might have kept themselves hidden could not even continue their lives in poverty.[9] This happened throughout Byzantium; it became a den of thieves.

And as the fire spreads,[10] this demonic wave of murder and plunder also reached the cities of Illyricum[11] and finally Thessalonike. So the metropolis of harmony[12] turned into a sea of discord.[13] Nobody could look anyone else in the

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complicated; see n. 8 below. Lemerle, p. 109 n. 1, notes only one of the *damnatio memoriae* of Phokas in this chapter, since Phokas is not mentioned by name.

[5]   Therefore, there was no fights among the demes before. This is, however, even according to the author's own knowledge untrue. We must always take sources very literally if we want to uncover all their tricks.

[6]   It is a typical mark of Phokas' reign that all participants are bloodthirsty.

[7]   The horror movie as historical source! It can only be a source for the time of its composition, not for the time which it depicts.

[8]   This is also a sign of any civil war, cf. e.g. Theoph. 418,7–11 and on this passage Speck *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2, (Bonn, 1981), p. 99f. The usual, if not always coherent, view of this passage is that the demes' were fighting against one another (and the truth might have been most often such; but everything here is exaggerated), and the assumption nevertheless remains that all of society could have been involved (otherwise there would have been no reason for concern!) To this extent the horror is emotionally exaggerated.

[9]   For they were plundered.

[10]   This is extensively described in the text.

[11]   Here we can see – probably without the author meaning it – that Illyricum had not yet been lost under Phokas, but was only given up under Herakleios; cf. P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monachensia 24 (Munich, 1980), p. 21f.

[12]   Yeah, yeah!

[13]   This Phokas! – By the way, this rather sharp accusation is immediately withdrawn; the discord did not come to pass. But one overlooks this while reading.

eye, not even relatives. But as a fire glows secretly in a heap of chaff and breaks into flame only when moved, so, too, was the situation in Thessalonike. Only one more thing was needed and everything would have erupted.[14] But the saint ensured that this evil wish remained just that for the demes. It is also a miracle that this wish did not come true.

Therefore behold the miracle:

Then follows the dream along with the history of the κυρία Εὐταξία, which I ask my readers to read in the edition.[15]

The dream is interpreted by a monk: the saint, who has Lady Law and Order with him, had brought it about that people did not need to fear this civil war. In fact the city remained unaffected by this danger, although the devil tried for two more years to destroy stability in the state.

Quite the reverse is true: during the last two years of Phokas' reign unrest did in fact occur, [28] civil war and so forth, but not because the demes went crazy and Phokas became intoxicated with it, but because Herakleios rebelled. The fact that this unrest had taken place in all the preceding years was propaganda to justify the coup – and it was later really believed in every other city.

Finally, it can be concluded from this story that Thessalonike did not take Herakleios' side immediately in 608 but sided with Phokas at first.[16] The story very nicely hushes this up too.

Unrest caused by the demes throughout the empire during Phokas' reign – we must dispense of this 'fact supported in the sources'. How something like this – and apparently altogether believable – could be pinned on the demes – would be the question that should be examined in a continuation of A. Cameron's work. This is similar to explaining hooliganism committed by young soccer fans as the reason for political change. The discomfort of the 'upright people who support law and order' has often been utilized for

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[14]   People still knew the demes had done nothing to Thessalonike. The author could hardly have claimed the existence of deme-inflicted horror in this city.

[15]   It contributes nothing to the argument at issue here. – If while reading a reader thinks that the miracula promoted the cult of Saint Demetrius as something new, and, therefore, that (before about 580) there was no cult of Demetrius in Thessalonike, but that it was transferred from Sirmium, and that until then the Demetrius church hosted another cult, then he knows what I will work on should I ever have more time at one point.

[16]   The column of Phokas in Rome, too, erected in 608, and its inscription, is a statement of loyalty. The evidence for this is easily shown, as soon as one abandons the opinion of Phokas' catastrophic policies.

propaganda. Their part during the rise of Phokas and Herakleios was sufficient for Herakleios to pin such conduct expressedly on the demes.

H. Ditten ('Zum Verhältniss zwischen Protobulgaren und Slawen vom Ende des 7. bis zu Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts' [On the Relation between Protobulgars and Slavs from the end of the Seventh to the Start of the Ninth Centuries], pp. 85–95) and Ilse Rochow ('Antihäretische Schriften Byzantinischer Autoren zwischen 843 und 1025' [Antiheretical Writings of Byzantine Authors between 843 and 1025], pp. 96–118) are the next contributors. On p. 103 of the latter essay, an additional reference should be noted: P. Speck, 'Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien', Ἑλληνικά 27 (1974), pp. 381–87 [above pp. 22–28], for some remarks on the history of the origins of Peter's *Historia*.

H.G. Thümmel ('Hagia Sophia', pp. 119–25) proceeds from a good idea that the name of Hagia Sophia does not derive from the σοφία of Christ but from the σοφία of the emperors. But Constantine himself stands behind this concept, not Constantius, as Thümmel suggests. The following observations, taking the church of Eirene into consideration as well, and the church of the Holy Apostles, prove this.

According to Sokrates (II, 16; PG 67,217B), the church of Eirene was built by converting a small church. It seems that this church of Eirene beside Hagia Sophia – it stood inside the Severan City – was the seat of the bishop before the reign of Constantine, who rebuilt it. Whether it received the name 'Eirene' from Constantine [29] cannot be established with the help of Sokrates (I, 16: 117A), because the model for Sokrates' work does not appear to be very old. At least it seems possible that Constantine gave the name, bearing in mind the imperial ideology of the *pax Augusti*. In any case, one should assume that it was the same man who introduced the two abstract ideas as names for churches.

In the centre of the city, which was expanded by Constantine, a second church of Eirene (νέα) was erected in the seventh district,[17] in addition to the first (παλαιά), and this too was the bishop's church. This would explain the amalgamation, which Thümmel has discovered, of the old Eirene church and

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[17] According to the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* in *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Frankfurt am Main, 1876), p. 235. See also the topographical reviews of the *Patria* in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitorum* ed. T. Preger (Leipzig, 1901 and 1907, namely nos. 104 and 106) and ρλζ' and ρλθ' (pp. 296 and 308). The church of Eirene – with incorrect texts however – is listed in the seventh district.

the Sophia church (shared clergy etc.). However the church in the seventh district disappeared at some point (demolition, destruction?), whereas the old one was rebuilt under Justinian. This would also explain the confusion in references to old and new.[18]

The church of the Apostles is the first church with a concrete name that is not a *memoria*. How did this happen?[19] At the highest point of the (Constantinian) city Constantine built his mausoleum, where he wished to lie beside the Apostles as ἰσόχριστος and where celebrations were meant to take place at his grave site.

This special status for the dead emperor did not suit the Church. After 359 it added another mausoleum to the existing one – in the meantime the remains of Constantine were removed to the Akakios church, which caused an uproar – where Constantine rests today. People say that Constantine guards the Apostles; he is now only ἰσαπόστολος. This status can be given to him without reservation.

The original mausoleum became a church. It got relics of the Apostles as early as 356 and in 370 was finally consecrated as the Church of the Apostles.[20]

Constantius is generally named as founder of Hagia Sophia, in the year 360 (which is approximately contemporary with the start of the alterations to the church of the Apostles). The few sources that ascribe the project to Constantine himself are usually interpreted to mean [30] that Constantine perhaps had plans for Hagia Sophia.

It would be worth considering whether alterations regarding the church of the Apostles also occurred in the case of Hagia Sophia.

The actual concept of Constantine's self- and imperial understanding – that he is god-like; he is a new Christ outside and above the Church – was at best possible for the church to support during his lifetime. After his death, however, he was incorporated within the Church and its view of humanity. Eusebios already did this, though in his work Constantine's concept still shines through.

Constantine's understanding of himself, however, gives rise to his concept of the role of the cities in the empire: Rome is the city for the state in the sense

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[18] In the synaxarion for January 23 (ed. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [Brussels, 1902], 417/8,57) it is called: τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας.

[19] On the following, see also G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une Capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), pp. 401–409, esp. p. 407.

[20] Thus it happens that Constantius too is mentioned in connection with the building of the church of the Apostles.

of the Senatus and the Populus; Jerusalem is for Christ; and Constantinople for
Constantine, who guides the state but also as ἰσόχριστος fulfils Christ's work
with the permission and support of the Church.[21] He does this directly through
unmediated contact with God; as emperor he was not a normal (baptized)
member of the Church.[22]

Following this idea he also designed 'his' 'church' near the palace, a palace
aula in the style of a basilica where he had himself celebrated in his position (or
wanted to do so, if the building was not completed in his lifetime). He moved
the church of Eirene, which was intended for the bishop and the congregation,
to the middle of the city, since it seemed out of place in the vicinity of this new
building. The latter he named after *Sapientia*, σοφία. This is now – and insofar
Thümmel is right (but Constantius was too narrow-minded to have such an idea
on his own!) – the emperor's wisdom. But this emperor was ἰσόχριστος. His
wisdom was also the (identical!) wisdom of Christ. When in 360 matters
changed and Constantine was turned into an ordinary Christian even in this
building – this happened without structural alterations and probably also
without any particular fuss – only the wisdom of Christ remained and the
building turned into an ordinary church whose founder was now named as
Constantius.[23] The Magnaura, probably completed under Julian, [31] could
then have been understood as 'substitute' for the 'worldly' part of the original
palace aula, which then served exclusively as a church.

The volume concludes with W. Ehrlich ('Zu Formen und Technologie
spätrömischer Kaiserbilder' [The Forms and Technology of Late Roman
Imperial Images], pp. 126–31) and unfortunately without any index.

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The second collection reviewed here begins with F. Winkelmann ('Zu Stand
und Aufgaben der Erforscherung des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts in Byzanz'
[The Condition and Views of Scholarship of the 8th and 9th Centuries in

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[21]   Therefore Themist. *Or.* 4.52C, from the year 357, could also call the town νεώς ...
τοῦ βασιλέως.

[22]   Baptism was performed on him when due to sickness or senility he no longer could or
would resist. Eusebios gives as reason for the delayed baptism a planned baptism in the river
Jordan, and again introduces (unconsciously?) the resemblance between Constantine and
Christ.

[23]   The other churches with abstract nouns as names ('Ομόνοια, Δύναμις and Πίστις –
the latter in *Patria* 3,1,2, in App.; Preger, p. 75) remain outside the purview of this note. It is
hardly possible to say anything certain about them.

Byzantium],[24] pp. 11–21, followed by J. Irmscher ('Einiges über Preise und Löhne im frühen Byzanz' [Remarks on Prices and Wages in Early Byzantium], pp. 23–33), Alla Romančuk ('Chersonesos und sein ländliches Territorium im 8./9. Jahrhundert' [Chersonese and its mainland territory in the 8th and 9th Centuries], pp. 35–45), and B. Malich ('Wer Handwerker ist, soll nicht Kaufmann sein – ein Grundsatz des byzantinischen Wirtschaftslebens im 8./9. Jahrhundert [One Who is a Craftsman Should not be a Merchant – a Basic Rule of Byzantine Economic Life in the 8th and 9th Centuries], pp. 47–59).

Helga Köpstein ('Zur Erhebung des Thomas' [The Elevation of Thomas], pp. 61–87) first of all presents a fundamental and critical analysis of the sources, which leads only to a few corrections. For example, Michael certainly took Euphrosyne (p. 71 with n. 69), the daughter of Constantine VI, from a monastery at the beginning of the rebellion and married her[25] in spite of opposition from many circles, in order to forge a dynastic link with the famous Isaurians. His aim was either to outbid Thomas, who saw himself as the continuer of the policy of Constantine VI,[26] or he even forced Thomas by means of this marriage to assert in reply that he was the true successor to Constantine VI. Michael rephrased this reply to give the impression that Thomas represented himself as the late emperor.

Similarly, it is a libel on Thomas to assert that he had himself crowned emperor in Antioch (p. 73). Elpidios[27] must have suffered such a libel earlier, and it is propaganda that implies that the lawful emperor was crowned in Constantinople.

It has been proven that the conflict over images did not play a part in this rivalry. The slandering of Thomas as devil (p. 74) and a perverter of Christianity does not mean then that Michael portrayed him as an iconoclast among the iconophiles,[28] but [32] in particular as the instigator of a civil war.[29]

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[24]   But if (p. 11 n. 2) Ostrogorsky's 'Asiatic type' is cited, one should see in it more than only ideology. The language, unaltered down to 1963, betrays its origin.

[25]   See P. Speck, 'Γραικία und 'Αρμενία. Das Tätigkeitsfeld eines nicht identifizierten Strategen im frühen 9. Jahrhundert', *JÖBG* 16 (1967), pp. 71–90, here 89, and also *Konstantin VI*, pp. 204–206.

[26]   Thus *Konstantin VI.*, p. 387.

[27]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 122. Today I would elaborate on the propaganda more than I did, ibid., p. 390.

[28]   Why actually not vice-versa? The description would suit Michael just as well or better.

[29]   See n. 8 above.

The interpretation of Thomas' rebellion as altogether unique is unsatis-
factory (p. 84: What raised Thomas's action above a typical usurpation). Many
of the points made are conventional and cannot prove anything special.
Ostensible loyalty to predecessors was also used by Leo III (Theoph. 386,15f.
and 395,8 ed. de Boor). Artabasdos and Constantine V fought each other just
as long and had two *themata* apiece backing them. According to p. 76, they
both also must have had a dissatisfied population on their side and, therefore,
one that sympathized with them. Such things, however, mostly happened over
the heads of the people, who were happy when the troops marched on.
Propagandistic promises were made to the people, but, of course, they did not
go beyond an ostensible removal of injustices. Honestly, what could Thomas
have done differently if he had been successful?

The argument on p. 77 that the 'vexations' of Nikephoros might have been
the reason for the high taxes imposed on the people is an unhappy one. These
vexations have to be assessed differently,[30] and in addition it is risky to assume
that they outlasted Nikephoros. Thomas's use of local tax revenues (but should
he rather have sent them to his opponent in Constantinople?) only shows that
he financed his rebellion with local money, not that the money was spent for the
benefit of local people.

The significance of towns is also sketched out wrongly. If for example (p. 80)
some castles held out long after the death of Thomas, it is not that they stayed
'loyal' to Thomas, but that they were afraid to surrender. Besides, it probably
took some time before Michael could gain control over the whole empire.
Why finally the people of Constantinople stood behind Michael remains
unascertainable. When Michael – in his letter to Louis the Pious – says that he
was crowned emperor by 'people, patriarch, and senate' (p. 81) his assertion
is firstly unverifiable, and furthermore a constitutional formality, neither of
which say anything about the attitude of the people of Constantinople.[31]

[33] Occasionally poor argumentation becomes obvious because of the
grander style: 'Bardanes and Thomas know the people's need and bring about
justice' (Harun al-Rashid!); (p. 84) 'Thomas and his followers ... were tried at
bloody assizes' (true Nibelungen!). A pity; the source analysis at the beginning
promised more.

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[30]   Cf. *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 806–808.
[31]   The reason the Blachernae wall was so densely equipped with ballistae (p. 81) is
because there was only a simple curtain wall, and therefore the greatest danger of a break-
through loomed there. That is the reason why attacking troops always amassed there.

Bohumila Zástěrová ('Die Slaven und die byzantinische Gesellschaft im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert' [The Slavs and Byzantine Society in the 8th and 9th Centuries], pp. 89–94) remains rather vague and leaves out some literature,[32] especially concerning the unconsidered use of the concept of re-hellenization.[33]

There follows research of H. Ditten ('Prominente Slawen und Bulgaren in byzantinischen Diensten [Ende des 7. bis Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts]', [Prominent Slavs and Bulgars in Byzantine Service from the end of the 7th to the Start of the 10th Centuries], pp. 95–119) and F. Winkelmann ('Probleme einer byzantinischen Prosopographie des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts' [Problems of Byzantine Prosopography of the 8th and 9th Centuries], pp. 121–29).

M. Loos ('Einige strittige Fragen der ikonoklastischen Ideologie' [A few Controversial Questions in Iconoclast Ideology], pp. 131–51) investigates the dependence of iconoclast theology on earlier heresies; namely, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and Paulicianism as well as Platonism and Aristotelianism and, finally, Hellenism. The fact that one can only grasp a few aspects of these questions – and indeed mostly only pin down a few sentences – and that one often remains bound to the labels which opponents pin on each other,[34] does not become clear, even if such dependencies are rejected in the end.

Such research can only point to the polemics of the time, to the question: to which heresies can the opponent be linked so that he stands refuted in advance? This can hardly explain the essence of iconoclasm.

One should also be aware of being caught by contemporary (yet subsequent) polemics. If one thinks the assertion of Theoph. 406.22–24, that Leo III was against Mary's and the saints' position as intercessors (p. 137 n. 42), is reliable and does not see that it is a malicious polemical attack, formulated not before 800 at the earliest, which is also used against Constantine V (413.21f.), one should at least ask why, according to the traditional view of the thus accused [34] iconoclasts, the true image of the saint was an imitation of his life, as

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[32] Thus there could be added to p. 93 n. 29 Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, p. 523 (end of n. 216).

[33] Speck, as above, in n. 24, p. 81 n. 32 and (hopefully independently from it) I. Tsaras 'Τὸ νόημα τοῦ "γραικώσας" στὰ τακτικὰ τοῦ Λέοντος ΣΤ´ τοῦ Σοφοῦ', *Βυζαντινά* 1 (1969), pp. 135–57.

[34] But Manicheanism is not taken into consideration (perhaps because it was almost something like another religion and not simply a Christian heresy?), although in John of Damascus it is the chief accusation, cf. Speck, as above, n. 8, p. 219f. and repeatedly.

elaborated on p. 136, and realize that this is hardly a rejection of the cult of saints. The iconoclasts' train of thought was not so contradictory.[35] But the iconophiles could certainly conduct polemics like this later on, since for them a cult of saints without the adoration of images was unthinkable, so that in their view the rejection of the cult of images must lead to a general denial of the cult of saints.

Pathetic phrases do not help either: 'expression of a deep aversion (on the part of the iconoclasts) to the portrayal of supernatural reality' (p. 136: 'Ausdruck eines tiefen Widerwillens [der Ikonoklasten] gegen das Abbilden der übersinnlichen Wirklichkeit); Kopronymos-Konzil'(!) (p. 137); 'for the iconoclasts it remained entirely implausible that the object of their inner belief could be given representation in material form by means of the fraudulent art of painting' (p. 144): 'für die Ikonklasten blieb jedoch völlig unannehmbar, dass der Gegenstand ihres innigen Glaubens in materieller Form, mittels der verächtlichen Malkunst, zur Darstellung gebracht wird.').[36]

Finally, Loos presents the thesis (p. 151) that the ideology of iconoclasm is in its innermost being explainable in terms of its ancient Christian heritage. This does not consider the other possibility, that theologically iconoclasm is a deliberate resort to early Christendom, as imagined in the eighth century, and the proof given for his hypothesis, namely the agreement between iconoclast statements and Saint Epiphanios, is valid. It was precisely this coincidence that induced G. Ostrogorsky to regard the citations from Epiphanios as forgery. Even if scholars have attacked Ostrogorsky to such degree that he partially retracted his statements,[37] he was right in the first place.[38] One should in fact seriously consider why iconoclasm emerged only in the eighth century, when all its arguments (and the corresponding conditions) existed hundreds of years earlier. At least one should keep such problems in mind and not use supposed quotations from Epiphanios as proof of any dependencies.

Rounding off the volume are H.G. Thümmel, ('Eine wenig bekannte Schrift

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[35]   The opinion advanced there, that the debate was mainly about the *proskynesis* to images of saints, is mistaken. The point at issue was again, as always of course, the image of Christ.

[36]   In the original this is a vigorous polemic against iconophiles.

[37]   This subject is reported in detail on p. 143, n. 63.

[38]   P. Maas, for example (*Byz. Zeitschr.* 30 [1930], pp. 279–86), has not proven that the citations date earlier than the end of the eighth century. Even if everything that he writes sounds very convincing, his argument is still a *petitio principii*.

zur Bilderfrage' [A Little Known Text on Questions about Images], pp. 153–57), who holds that the ascription to Photios should be accepted; G. Haendler ('Der byzantinische Bilderstreit und das [35] Abendland 815–825' [The Byzantine Image Controversy and the West 815–825], pp. 159–62[39]); Ilse Rochow ('Die Häresie der Athinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens' [The Heresy of the Athinganoi in the 8th and 9th Centuries and the Question of its Survival], pp. 163–78); and G. Strohmaier ('Byzantinisch-arabische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus' [Byzantine-Arab Scientific Exchanges in the Era of Iconoclasm], pp. 179–83). This volume also has indices.

Every reviewer has a bad feeling when the positive does not receive enough emphasis in comparison with what deserves criticism. If I were simply to explain that in both volumes the positive outweighs the negative, that is no help to anyone. That is why I suggest comparing the pages about which I have made some remarks with those pages I simply mentioned. Then one understands why I conclude by congratulating the authors and publishers on these publications.

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[39]   But Michael II did not free the advocates of images because he wanted to end the fight over images, but because Thomas had created difficulties for him and he could not afford additional enemies.

Γραφαῖς ἢ γλυφαῖς. On the Fragment of Hypatios of Ephesos on Images, with an Appendix on the *Dialogue with a Jew* by Leontios of Neapolis

Γραφαῖς ἢ γλυφαῖς. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder, mit einem Anhang zu dem Dialog mit einem Juden des Leontios von Neapolis

[213] In everyone's life something like this sometimes presumably happens: one comes across an idea, gathers materials, has – supposedly – some brilliant thoughts, starts to write, but puts everything aside because something more important turns up, and most of all, you do not get anywhere .... Then someone else's work on the same subject gets published. You read his publication almost greedily, find out that – alas – the other fellow undoubtedly has thought some of one's own thoughts, but that he has missed out others, thank God. A publication of your own is still feasible, and you decide to have another go at it.

This is how I felt about the most recent essay by H.H. Thümmel,[1] which led me back to my notes on Hypatios of Ephesos. The following thoughts are therefore also a discussion of Thümmel's work, whose numbering of the text I have included in parentheses for simplicity's sake.[2] My remarks generally take the form of a commentary on the quoted or paraphrased text.[3] As usually in my

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[1] [250] See n. 3 below.
[2] Beforehand stands Diekamp's numbering.
[3] The following works are cited in abbreviated form. Works on Hypatios of Ephesus: Diekamp: F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik* in *Orient. Christ. Anal.* 117 (Rome, 1938). Baynes: N.H. Baynes, 'The Icons before Iconoclasm', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 44 (1951), pp. 93–106. Alexander: P.J. Alexander, 'Hypatios of Ephesus. A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 45 (1952), pp. 177–84. Kitzinger: E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before

research, the course of the argument is not only complicated in itself but hard to explain as well. Nevertheless, since the reader knows what lies in store for him, I kindly ask him to cast an eye over my final remarks.[4]

127.1–3 (=1–3) Ὑπατίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἐφέσου, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν, ἐπίσκοπον Ἀτραμυτίου συμμίκτων ζητημάτων βιβλίου αʹ, κεφαλαίου εʹ. περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις.

The word συμμίκτων, though recommended by everybody since Diekamp and found in the manuscripts (?), is impossible.[5]

Ἅγιοι οἶκοι are churches and nothing else.[6] In that case, though, the contradiction with the text [214] which uses τὰ ἱερά exclusively, cannot be explained away. For although τὸ ἱερόν also means 'church',[7] τὰ ἱερά must be something

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Iconoclasm', *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 8 (1954), pp. 83–150. Gouillard: J. Gouillard, 'Hypatios d'Ephèse ou du Pseudo-Denys à Théodore Studite', *Rev. Et. byz* 19 (1961), pp. 63–75. Lange: G. Lange, *Bild und Wort. Die katechetischen Funktionen des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1962). [251] Mango: C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972). Gero: S. Gero, 'Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images, Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults', in *Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, ed. J. Neusner, v. 2: *Early Christianity* (Leiden 1975), pp. 208–16. Thümmel: H.G. Thümmel, 'Hypatios von Ephesus und Iulianos von Atramytion zur Bilderfrage' *Byz Slav* 44 (1983), pp. 161–70. Other works cited in abbreviated forms that are not self-evident as in the case of Mansi and PG: *Artabasdos*: P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der rechten Lehren* [Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2 (Bonn 1981)]. Germanos: 'Letter to Thomas of Klaudioupolis', in Mansi XIII,108A–128A; also in the appendix of Stein (see below). John of Damascus, *de imag. I–III: Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos III.*, ed. P.B. Kotter, in *Patristische Texte und Studien* 17 (Berlin 1975). Konstantin VI: P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978). Lampe: G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961–69). Martin: E.J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, 1930). [252] Ostrogorsky: G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreits* (Breslau, 1929). Stein: D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreits und seine Entwicklung bis in die 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* [*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 25 (Munich, 1980)]. *Theodoros Studites: Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, ed. P. Speck, in Supplementa Byzantina 1 (Berlin, 1968).

4   See p. 76 below.

5   Only Gouillard, p. 63, has, rightly, σύμμικτα.

6   On the one hand, Alexander, p. 178 n. 3, verifies the expression using Fragment 6 of Epiphanios in Ostrogorsky, p. 68, but as to τὰ ἱερά, which is used constantly in the text and which he translates as 'sanctuaries', he is not sure whether to prefer 'sacred buildings of a more general or more specialized character.' Still, what buildings should they be?

7   As Gouillard proves, p. 67 n. 27. Thümmel's translation is always 'sanctuaries'.

else. This derives above all from 127.23 (=25) and 128.24 (=57): ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. This phrase can hardly refer to the placement of works of art in churches or on church walls. τὰ ἱερά refers rather to 'holy objects',[8] undoubtedly including goblets, book covers, silverware, crosses, veils, and the like. The continuation of the second passage, where various materials are listed, clearly shows this: οὐχ ὡς θεῷ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σειρικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ λιθοκολλήτων σκευῶν τιμίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν δοκούντων .... So ἅγιοι οἶκοι and ἱερά are not identical,[9] although it is not possible to clarify fully whether doors also count as ἱερά (as do altar railings, templa, ciboria and so forth) or whether Julian of Atramytion is guilty of fairly illogical argumentation (see below).

The solution is not declaring the title of the heading, viz. περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις, to be an addendum by the compiler of the florilegium, i.e., of the prototype of Paris. gr. 1115 in which the text was preserved,[10] and indeed in the following form Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις εἰκόνων, and with a note that a citation from the 17th homily of St Basil in the same florilegium has been given the exact same title.[11] Furthermore, that the copyist of Paris gr. 1115 might have omitted the word εἰκόνων because of lack of space at the end of a line.

To refute this opinion, one cannot argue, following on from what has been said, that a title in the form of περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις (εἰκόνων) is hardly consistent with the content of the fragment – [215] τὰ ἱερά are referred to there. The title in question does not suit the passage from Basil, either, but was probably added by the compiler.[12]

As explained later in this paper, the topic of the preceding, fourth chapter of Hypatios' σύμμικτα ζητήματα was images as well. No matter what the subject matter in chapters one to three was, I also think it possible that περὶ

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[8]   At p. 178 n. 7, Alexander has already advanced this hypothesis for the first of the passages cited.

[9]   They do not even become identical by assuming that ἅγιοι οἶκοι are something similar to τὰ ἱερά. The only passages that could prove this [253] would be *Chron. Pasch.* 590.19f. (Bonn) cited in Lampe, s.v. οἶκος, where οἶκος ought to mean 'reliquary'. Yet that is nonsense. Since this οἶκος is built ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν τῶν Τρωαδησίων, it was therefore a church too.

[10]   See the details at p. 67 below.

[11]   Gouillard, p. 67 with n. 25: PG 31,489A/B=John of Damascus, *de. imag.* I.34 (p. 146 Kotter).

[12]   We will only know more about this once the history of the iconoclast and iconophile florilegia is better researched.

τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις was the title of the first book of the ζητήματα. Because of the copyist's error, it mistakenly ended up after the account of the fifth chapter (and so after κεφαλαίου ε'). If the fifth chapter ever had a specific title, it must have been something like περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

So one can assume that the ζητήματα of the first book dealt with problems (problems with images exclusively?) that Julian had discovered and denounced in the area of church buildings.[13] And we can assume that at the very least another book discussed other buildings.

127.4–8 (=4–8) Παρακινεῖν δὲ αὖθις φῆς τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν τοὺς ὁμοίως τὰ σεπτὰ καὶ προσκυνητὰ γραφαῖς ἢ γλυφαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνατιθέντας, although Holy Scripture (τὰ λόγια) forbids doing this and likewise requires eliminating those already on hand.

If one assigns the ζητήματα to the sixth century, one at least ought to alter φῆς, recommended by Diekamp and all his successors, to φῄς.[14] For any later date of composition φῆς or better yet φῇς would be justified.[15]

Whether αὖθις modifies παρακινεῖν (then an additional offense would have occurred) or φῆς (then an additional denunciation by Julian would have been made[16]), there is no need for the interpretation of [216] Alexander,[17] who says that Julian made the reproach 'once again' (αὖθις) because it had been made the first time by the pagans; this was adopted by Thümmel.[18] Julian would have stressed the connection of image-worshippers to the worshippers of heathen gods more strongly. So the obvious hypothesis is that Hypatios had already refuted Julian in the preceding chapters and dealt with the issue that Biblical precepts were being offended in church. Once again, you say, these very people are breaking the rules of Holy Scripture. ...

Τοῖς ὁμοίως ... ἀνατιθέντας simply means 'those who in the same way ... erect'. A shift of the adverb from the verb to γραφαῖς ἢ γλυφαῖς is out of the question. Consequently, Alexander's translation, 'in the form of paintings and

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[13]   Gouillard, p. 63, takes Julian to be the person to whom Hypatios dedicated his work and says we do not need to assume that everything refers to the questions that Julian had directed to Hypatios. But the only surviving section, at least, implies a quite specific and most likely written reproach towards Hypatios.

[14]   But only Alexander does so, p. 178 n. 4.

[15]   See my commentary, *Theodoros Studites*, iambic 28.5.

[16]   Lange's 'Du sagst ferner' (Furthermore, you say) is too colourless, p. 44 n. 8.

[17]   p. 178 n. 4.

[18]   p. 169 n. 27.

carvings alike', is invalid.[19] One cannot say whether Thümmel understands the sentence correctly ('die gleicherweise das Heilige und Verehrte als Malerein und Skupturen aufstellen' [who in the same way erected holy and sacred things in the form of paintings and sculptures]), since in his interpretation he certainly opposes Alexander, but does not interpret ὁμοίως.[19a] But like the preceding αὖθις this word surely relates to the argument of the previous chapter, where the issues were not only offenses against divine tradition but also the very practical matter of people who place artistic images anywhere (in churches).

One cannot speculate about the exact content of Julian's condemnation (paintings on church walls for example) and about Hypatios' corresponding defense against the charges.[20] The only clear thing is that ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν indicates just *one* of the possible and even usual locations where images were placed. So Julian has not condemned pictures altogether, but [217] has classified them according to where they were put, and by the same token Hypatios has not justified images generally but has analysed Julian's classification. Neither hesitated to repeat arguments,[21] as is made clear by the way that already in the fourth chapter the issue was against the divine tradition, namely, the dedication of pictures.

It is possible that Hypatios' counter-arguments became more detailed in the course of his argumentation. That could be an explanation for why a compiler chose the fifth chapter – which would have been the last, too – for the his florilegium. That way he believed that he would have included the most important arguments of the opposing parties.

Τὰ σεπτὰ καὶ προσκυνητά is for various reasons noteworthy. Firstly, it is

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[19]   [254] Mango follows him. p. 116 and regarding content Gouillard does, too, p. 68f.

[19a]   p. 162. In connection with the question of whether the sentence 127.23–5 (=25–28) distinguishes between painting and sculpture, Thümmel says that Alexander wanted to find a different emphasis in the opening sentence too, clearly because he recognized that the same bishop could not have expressed differing opinions in the same context. The criticism made in the opening passage should not be directed generally against painting and sculpture, but against those who set up painting and sculpture in a similar fashion. Yet surely this is over-interpreting ὁμοίως. One would also expect a καί between γραφαῖς and γλυφαῖς instead of ἱ (thus; probably ἤ was intended though). But the main thing is that the rest of the argument becomes incomprehensible.

[20]   Only the analogy with chapter five accounts for Hypatios' not letting the attack on Julian go to extremes, and for moderating it instead.

[21]   So Hypatios had probably not used the anagogic and didactic argument only in chapter five.

not clear whether this formulation goes back to Hypatios or Julian. We cannot argue from the content, as in another passage, 127.23 (=25) where Julian himself uses προσκυνητάς, although he does not identify himself with it (see below). The neuter has to be taken into account and along with it the avoidance of the concept εἰκών. The explanation for this might be that at the time of composition it was not opportune – for Hypatios – to talk of an εἰκών, or that Julian wished to avoid using it. Or maybe εἰκών already was something like a technical term for an icon. But all these possibilities seem premature for the first half of the sixth century.

It is also worth observing that these representations are not only σεπτά but also προσκυνητά. For the most part, [218] people try to get out of using the term and weaken the meaning of the word to a non-committal 'the worshipped' (Thümmel).[22] The reason is that they are reluctant to believe that in the first half of the sixth century, when Hagia Sophia was erected as a representative building and was still quite without any figural *decoration*, that even the mildest form of image *worship* might have been mentioned or even supported. Well, too right! The question is simply whether people ought to twist the wording around or whether they have to consider another solution.

In this case one would have to take into account that in the eighth century, in spite of all the contrary assertions from later iconophile sources, the matter is essentially one of venerating images, not just about their existence.[23] In this passage Julian makes *no* distinction between painting and sculpture.[24] Both fall under the Scriptural prohibition that requires the destruction of existing images.[25] Even if Julian hides behind Holy Scripture in this instance, he appears to advocate the radical opinion that images that are identical to heathen images should be destroyed. Even for the eighth century that is a radical point of view and for the sixth it is very striking.[26]

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[22]   Alexander, p. 178: 'what is worshipped' (differently on p. 179 [at 127.23 (=25)]: 'paintings to be worshipped'). Kitzinger, p. 94 n. 32: 'which are worshipped. Or even: worshipped as they are'. Gouillard, p. 71 attaches himself to Kitzinger and in turn Lange, p. 46 n. 15, borrows from Gouillard. Mango, p. 117: 'venerable paintings', with n. 307. Or: 'paintings to be worshipped'.

[23]   See *Artabasdos*, passim.

[24]   [255] So also Lange, p. 45, refuting a different but not linguistically tenable interpretation of Alexander's (as above in n. 19a).

[25]   127.7 (=7f.) is naturally to be read with Alexander's, p. 178 n. 6, καθαιρεῖν (instead of καθαίρειν); also Lange, p. 44 n. 9.

[26]   The description of Julian as 'bilderskeptisch' (sceptical of images) (Lange, p. 45

127.10–22 (=9–24): Hypatios wants to explain to Julian how this kind of decoration developed[27] and firstly tries to qualify the Old Testament's prohibition of it, based on historical reasons: it was used to avoid idolatry. Further he explains that nothing in the world is similar or comparable or identical to God.

A remarkable feature of this section is that the Biblical citations, many of which were used in the icon controversy of the eighth century, [219] are of crucial importance. Consequently, one must assume that already in the sixth century a similar theology of images had developed. The details are as follows:[28]

Acts 17.29 (modelled on Wisdom 13.10) in 127.12 (=12f). Cf. Ioan. Damas. *De imag.* I.7.4–6 (p. 80 Kotter), and Germanos 117D.

Romans 1.25 (ἐλάτρευον τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα) in 127.14 and six(!) times in John of Damascus. Cf. Kotter's index p. 204. Also cf. Germanos 120D.[29]

Deut. 4.15f in 127.16–19 (=17–20) and twice in John of Damascus. Cf. Kotter, p. 202.

The remaining citations – Deut. 7.5 in 127.14–16 (=15f.), Psalm 70.19 in 127.21f (=22f.), Psalm 82.2 in 127.22 (=23) – are not found in either authors.

What I cannot explain here is that the common citations appear in a similar context, namely the historical qualification of the prohibition of image worship.

Should one therefore assume that Hypatios has effectively anticipated the eighth-century theology of images and even introduced quotes that were no longer used in the later controversy? Or, is there another, more obvious explanation, which incorporates impressions from the preceding paragraphs and also from those that follow, that is that this fragment actually comes from the eighth century?

Hypatios' basic conviction, which is explained even more detailed in what follows, in fact corresponds in much with that of the Patriarch Germanos: since

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n. 10) misses the mark. Also the entire controversy about the level of Julian's hostility towards images – Thümmel reports it on p. 162f. – glosses over this radical position.

[27]   Διαπλάττεσθαι does not mean 'to decorate "sculpturally"' (as in Gouillard, p. 68; differently at p. 70).

[28]   Without referring to it here, let me say that I am very much indebted to the work of Stein.

[29]   On this citation, cf. *Artabasdos* p. 186.

God is not supposed to be portrayed as such, the prohibition of images in the Old Testament does not concern contemporary images. First and foremost, [220] images are important for those who cannot read. On the other hand, Hypatios differs so much from Germanos – and also from John of Damascus[30] – that one can only explain these points they have in common and the variations by assuming that all these texts come from the same period, when no consistent line of argument from the supporters of images against the opponents of images was as yet standing out. The upshot is that our texts could belong to the first decades of the iconoclast controversy, when no subtle argument concerning the prohibition of images, from the iconoclast side, had yet emerged.[31]

But if we date our fragment to the eighth century, we encounter yet another Hypatios of Ephesos,[32] the one who according to the synaxarion probably was cruelly martyred under Leo III because of images.[33] With the correction of obvious exaggerations, a punishment for high treason remains. Now such punishments are not attested for Leo III but they seem to be for Constantine V.[34] Besides, such punishments accord with the entire political and religious orientation of this emperor.[35]

Note this, too: one of the chief figures of the council of 754 is Theodosios of Ephesos. In the anathemata of the council of 787, he receives the attribute ψευδώνυμος.[36] One can explain this only as meaning that in the view of the orthodox Theodosios did not hold his episcopate legally and thus that his predecessor (Hypatios, I would hypothesize) was illegally removed.

This incident, which led to the removal and condemnation of Hypatios and probably belongs in the reign of Constantine V, does not mean that [221] the preceding fragment comes from Constantine's reign, too. It would make more

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[30]   Here, too, I cannot offer an analysis.

[31]   Julian's line of argumentation here comes close to that of Constantine of Nakoleia. Cf. the reconstruction in Stein, pp. 9–11, 28f.

[32]   The consequence is that the Hypatios of the sixth century loses the work σύμμικτα ζητήματα, which is the only one for which he is known. Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reiche* (Munich, 1959), p. 372f.

[33]   [256] *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (Propylaem ad ASS Novembris)* ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), 62.10–64.5

[34]   Cf. *Artabasdos*, pp. 35–37, 239, and frequently elsewhere.

[35]   Ibid., pp. 258–60. Hypatios would also be among those who, according to John of Damascus 2.12.27–30 (p. 103 Kotter), were accused of high treason and exiled during the reign of Constantine V along with Germanos. See also *Artabasdos*, p. 179.

[36]   *Mansi* 13.400A and 416C. See *Konstantin VI.*, p. 432 n. 43.

sense if it were composed in the reign of Leo III, since the synaxarion turns him
into a victim of this emperor. The overall tone of the fragment points to a time
when Hypatios was still serving as bishop and it gives the impression that there
were no grounds for removing him and trying him for high treason, either
in Leo's reign or that of Constantine V.[37] Hypatios does not seem to have had
so little room for manoeuver as Patriarch Germanos had in the controversy over
Constantine of Nakoleia, where disciplinary measures were afoot.

This naturally does not mean that the debate between Julian and Hypatios
is to be placed earlier; Hypatios might have behaved more cautiously after
the 'evil' example of Germanos.[38] All these observations suggest dating the
fragments to the time between 726 and 754 and probably in the 30s of the reign
of Leo III.[39] More arguments for giving this date to the fragments will arise in
the course of this analysis.

127.23–25 (=25–28): 'Αλλὰ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων φῂς· Προσκυνητὰς
ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐῶμεν εἶναι γραφάς, ἐκ ξύλου δὲ καὶ λίθου πολλάκις οἱ τὰ
τῆς γλυφῆς ἀπαγορεύοντες οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπλημμελὲς τηρῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
θύραις ...

Now this is the sentence that has successfully resisted all previous
interpretations.[40] Again a simple and viable solution is at hand, especially if the
criteria of textual criticism are introduced.

To start at the end: after θύραις a bigger lacuna has to be assumed. Either a
longer part in the prototype for Paris gr. 1115 had become unreadable or a page
had fallen out. The corruptions before the lacuna (see details below) and [222]
after it (ὀφείλη καὶ ἡ instead of ὦ φίλη καί) could be cited as evidence for both
possibilities.[41] Be that as it may, the lacuna undoubtedly results in the fact that

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[37]   Cf. *Artabasdos.* p. 281: even for Germanos the letter to Thomas of Klaudioupolis was
not the real reason for the persecution.

[38]   Since Germanos was not in a position to lead a church that was free of conflict, he
was very likely forced to retire. But his retirement was not caused by images.

[39]   Like Constantine of Nakoleia, Julian was among the bishops who gave theological
elaboration to the first statements by Leo III. In 754 he may have already been dead; at least
he played no part that might have preserved his name.

[40]   Thümmel, p. 162f, reports these efforts. His work is essentially another attempt to
interpret this sentence.

[41]   Through sheet loss and resulting damage [257] to the binding, the adjacent pages
could also have been damaged. A codicological examination of Paris gr. 1115 could
probably provide more precise information.

the long passage beginning 127.26 (=29), which is Hypatios' answer to Julian, has nothing to do with what Julian says here, although previously Julian's arguments have prompted replies from Hypatios. This way of introducing arguments out of the blue, so to speak, insults people's memory of Hypatios. Thümmel's proposal to athetize ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θύραις cannot explain the mental leap that one would have to assign to Hypatios if a lacuna is not assumed.[42]

ἐῶμεν coming in quick succession at 127.24 and 25 (=26, 27) is objectionable and surely derives from a scribal error (e.g., homoioteleuton). In addition, the second ἐῶμεν with ἀπλημμελές has only a forced meaning,[43] which means that one must understand ἀπλημμελές falsely as 'without sin'.[44] But ἀπλημμελής also has the non-moral meaning of 'without fault' and 'uncorrupted' and therefore results in the conjecture (τοῦτο) ἀπλημμελές τηροῦμεν – meaning 'we observe (this rule) uncorrupted without any exception'.

ἐπὶ ξύλου δὲ καὶ λίθου does not make sense either. Sculptures (τὰ τῆς γλυφῆς should not be limited to reliefs and they are not made *on* these materials anyhow!) are made *out of* wood or stone, hence ἐκ.[45] The corruption can be explained by the previous ἐπί at 127.23 (=25).

After these preliminary remarks, we can attempt to reconstruct Julian's opinion by using Hypatios' account. The translation of the passage runs: But although this is the case, you maintain the following: [223] We allow images worthy of veneration to be placed on sacred objects, yet although we frequently forbid sculptures made of wood or stone, we do not follow this prohibition completely, but on doors...

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[42]   P. 164f., as possible marginal glosses.

[43]   Thümmel: 'Wir können dies nicht ohne Sünde erlauben' (We cannot permit this without sin). But this would leave out the adverb. Alexander, p. 179 escapes this difficulty. He writes, 'but we ... do not allow this (sculpture) ... to be sinless.' But he has already been criticized because τοῦτο cannot refer to τὰ τῆς γλυφῆς: Kitzinger, p. 94 n. 33, Lange, p. 46f. Gouillard, p. 71, speaks of a deliberate parallel between the two instances of ἐῶμεν: 'ne le permettons-nous même comme irréprochable'. Lange gives a similar translation, p. 46.

[44]   Lange tries to establish this as necessary, p. 46 n. 6.

[45]   Thümmel instinctively translates ἐπί as 'aus' ('of') but on p. 165 writes about 'Plastik in Holz und Stein' (sculpture in wood and stone). He is probably borrowing from Alexander, p. 179 (also Mango, p. 117): 'carvings in wood and stone'. But this can hardly mean a relief. Gouillard, p. 71 (Les sculptures sur bois et pierre) and Lange, p. 46 (carvings on wood and stone) do not say what they should be.

Hypatios' introductory remark in this fictive dialogue ('Αλλὰ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων[46] φῇς) leads not only to the next thought, but conveys a strong rebuke to Julian. One cannot explain this simply by saying that Hypatios was his supervisor.[47] One must note that in dealing with Julian Hypatios assumes that he already knows the counterarguments and acts accordingly. This might not have been the first dispute between the two and beyond that the issue between them may have already been widely discussed at the time. Both assumptions support dating the piece in the beginning of iconoclasm.

It is not clear to me where the difficulties of the next sentence lie (προσκυνητὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐῶμεν εἶναι γραφάς – we allow that on holy objects there are images worthy of veneration). These are the words of the 'iconoclast' Julian. 'We' naturally means not a narrow group of those who reject images, but the Church as a whole, to which the representatives of both points of view obviously belong and in which – so Hypatios argues – even images have their place. A rule for or against images does not yet exist. Consequently Julian can argue like this without any problems[48] and give images the attribute προσκυνητάς, since 'we' ('the Church') carry out proskynesis in some places and do so with the consent of others. Naturally this formulation does not mean that Julian [224] associates himself with it or approves of these things. Besides, in the context of the argument the sentence should include an unspoken 'We do not want to go further into this now; for the time being I say nothing more.' For Julian's main argument comes only in the next sentence, where he expects to nail his opponent by presenting specific arguments. But this does not hold true for γραφαί – hence the difference between flat images and sculpture comes up only here[49] – and the reason is that the opponent has made no (negative) statements. Yet the sentence in no way means that Julian somehow approves of γραφαί.[50] He does not dream of doing such a thing, but argues with full rhetorical finesse and pretty sharply, too.

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[46] The implied 'although' causes trouble for Lange, p. 45 n. 14, but it is Hypatios' thought, not Julian's.

[47] But this sentence clearly shows that Hypatios [258] is still in office.

[48] And surely also after 726 or 730, since there was no edict on images by Leo III. Cf. Stein, index s.v. Edikt Leons III.

[49] As a translation, 'painting' would be weak, since this passage suggests depictions on cups, silverware and so on.

[50] So we do not need to turn the sentence into a questions as Thümmel does.

The next sentence clarifies things even more: flat images, Julian said, we will leave to one side. But what about three-dimensional, sculptural, images? We often forbid these, but we do not follow this prohibition always and everywhere.

The real point of the passage is Julian's argument that the prohibitions of the Church Fathers and the early Church on statues of heathen gods must also apply to Christian images. Only then does Julian's expression yield a meaning. Flat images did not exist as cult objects for heathens, as Julian knows or can assume. So, as he says, we momentarily leave them to one side. But sculpture is a different matter. We forbid it – again this far-reaching 'we' – yet we do it all along (πολλάκις). Unexpressed but evident are two thoughts. Firstly, this prohibition invariably concerns heathen cult statues – but acknowledgment of this fact would weaken Julian's argument, so he omits it. [225] Secondly, leaving aside the existence of church decoration in his own time, Julian can act as though the Church (that means 'we') mostly adhered to this prohibition. 'In fact', he could explain, 'no cult statues like those in ancient temples can be found in our churches.[51] So we abide by our own norms in this matter. But do we do so all the time? No! We define a prohibition [this "we" also embraces the Church throughout its history] and we never observe it without exceptions [ἀπλημμελές]. On the contrary we allow embossed representations on doors ... .'

Filling in the start of the lacuna is still possible: besides doors,[52] Julian possibly named some other things bearing images in relief, like altar barriers, ciboria, templa, capitals and so on, cases where the Church does not stick to its own rules on three-dimensional images.[53]

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[51]   And probably also no monumental sculptures. But this conclusion does not rest on the fact that the argument concerns legendary monumental sculptures like the statue of Paneas. Cf. Stein, pp. 79f., 120f.

[52]   Given the following considerations, but not only them, θύρα can mean nothing other than door. The general opinion, since Diekamp, p. 118, and Baynes, p. 94, that θύρα could also mean 'door curtain' – expanded by Gouillard, p. 71, to 'rien ne permet de tirer le mot dans un sens plutôt que dans l'autre'; again Lange, p. 46 n. 17, refers to it –, has already been proven erroneous because of concerns raised by Gouillard. Θύρα means the doorway or door leaf. The door curtain (naturally hanging in the doorway) is without exception called βῆλον. Graeca sunt: make of it what you will.

[53]   It makes no difference whether people could call these things ἱερά too. Cf., pp. 51–52 above. That may be a case of inconsistent usage on Julian's part.

So Julian's argument is clear up to this point.[54] He draws no theological distinction between painting and sculpture but he probably uses the existing difference (that there are only three-dimensional reliefs in some parts of a church) in order to make his point that a Church that does not forswear images must lapse into error.[55]

We can no longer reconstruct how the arguments in the lacuna proceeded. But that since the following points are no obstacle to the argument just advanced by Julian, we have no need of further explanations: the lacuna is correctly postulated.

127.26 – 129.14 (=29–82): I can add no stringent argument to this long defense of images by Hypatios as long as among other things we lack [226] a corresponding theological model. Yet a continuous commentary elucidating the roots of iconoclasm would surely be useful. I limit myself to individual observations:

127.26 (=27) The address ὦ φίλη …[56] refers to formally correct social intercourse, not persecution or something similar. This suits the first thirty years of the eighth century.

127.27 (=30): Diekamp wanted to turn the manuscript reading ταύτην into τὴν αὐτήν (forte legendum) and thus be consistent with the ταὐτόν already used. We find ταύτη twice in Theodore of Stoudios (Iamb. 99.4 and 115.15. See my commentary on both passages.) The second should be understood as a dative (ταύτῃ) meaning something like 'thus' or 'in that very way'. That would make it possible to have ταύτην instead of τὴν αὐτήν and to date the text later.

127.27 – 128.5 (=31–37): This section is also preserved in Theodore of Stoudios (*Epist.* II.171, PG 99,1537A/B).[57] There is nothing to say about the

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[54]   Recent interpretive efforts that I will not mention are unclear to [254] me. (For your amusement, read Lange, p. 45f. once more.) I also avoid commenting on the effects that the text and recent textual interpretations have had on the distinction between painting and sculpture and on the theology of the sixth century, including the veneration of images. All of it is futile.

[55]   Cf. Stein, p. 294 index s.v. Wahrheit als proprium der Kirche Christi. The question is regarded as very important.

[56]   According to the correction of Alexander, p. 179 n. 17. See also p. 58 above.

[57]   Gouillard made the discovery. According to the communication generously given to

textual improvements that have been introduced, especially ἀγῶνας instead of the meaningless εἰκόνας at 128.1 (=32).[58] But it probably should be noted that the very simple and clear text has been understood in much too complicated way on the basis of the misinterpretation of the preceding part. A paraphrase may clarify the simple train of thought:

127.28 – 128.5 (=31–37)[59]: The eternal love of God towards men and the struggle for salvation must, as we ascertain,[60] be praised in sacred writings,[61] [227] since we personally gain no pleasure in sculpture or painting.[62] Yet we

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me by G. Fatouros, who prepares an edition of the letters, the section contains no variants that are not already noted in Migne.

[58]   At most one must reject the opinion (Gouillard, p. 65f., Lange, p. 51 n. 41, Thümmel, p. 164) that the alterations were deliberate and not traceable to the thoughtlessness of the copyist (following a model in majuscule?). The person who perceives the need for such an alteration should also change τοὺς ἱερούς into τὰς ἱεράς and not compel the reader into the forced interpretation of ἱεροῖς γράμμασι as 'sacred paintings'. The result is the statement 'Die Gottesliebe und die Bilder der Heiligen befehlen wir in heiligen Malereien zu preisen' (we bid that the love of God and the images of sacred things be praised in sacred paintings) (Thümmel, p. 164). Yet that statement is plainly false, as Alexander already saw, p. 179 n. 18.

[59]   Lange, p. 51 n. 40, offers the best arrangement of the text [260] with ὑπέρ (ὑπό in Theod. Stud.) and αὐτῆς (αὐτοῖς Theod. Stud. supported by Gouillard, p. 65). Lange also understands καὶ ὄψει as 'even with the sense of sight'. Gero, p. 209 with n. 12 understands ὑπό ... ἀναγωγῆς (by means of instructions) as parallel to ὄψει. But then it would have to be in the dative, too, and that would be the *lectio simplicior* (too simple). In his text Thümmel has ὑπό and αὐτῆς but translates 'with purpose' and 'a view appropriate to them'.

[60]   This time Hypatios means himself and the whole Church.

[61]   And ἱερὰ γράμματα can mean nothing else. See n. 58 above. The detailed discussion in Gouillard, p. 66 – for me only partly comprehensible – digs into the question of whether Hypatios used the article according to the rules of schoolroom grammar. He did.

[62]   This argument is twisted. It insinuates that the iconoclasts, who do not fundamentally condemn all art, take esthetic pleasure in art as such and it similarly contends that the iconophiles never ever felt such esthetic feelings in the case of religiously motivated images. For these, the better Christians, esthetic pleasure was therefore irrelevant. On the other hand, if religious art is the only kind that they supposedly notice and the iconoclasts mercilessly destroy this art because of a preference for obscene images, the iconoclasts very easily turn into the fundamental enemies of art, even in modern research. This all deserves a detailed investigation, as I believe is necessary at a time when people prepare for *Das Ende des Kunstgeschichte* [*The End of Art History*] (Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1983). [261] Considering their relations with the iconophiles, in fact, the iconoclasts would have felt a well nigh excessive concern on behalf of this apocalypse (ibid., p. 32). Artistic form does

grant that simple people are certainly quite uneducated and learn such things as Christ's goodness and the saints' struggles in the form of introductory instruction that fosters the kind of spiritual growth suited to them.[63] The visual method is suitable for this process.[64]

Therefore the οἰκονομία of Christ and the deeds of the saints can be represented. This point is not only made in this passage alone.[65] The reason that Hypatios does not mention votive images – though they surely existed[66] – is that he limits the need for images to the use of them by 'simple' people, probably as a sort of *biblia pauperum*. This way he fulfills a double purpose. He escapes the reproach of supporting the προσκύνησις to images[67] and on his own behalf can explain that on the basis of his culture and intellect he has no need for such kinds of help. To this extent, Hypatios is a typical partisan of images at the beginning of iconoclasm, when images had not yet penetrated far and wide, as later, iconophile versions of history would gladly suggest. So Hypatios does not come off like a coward who apparently holds back under pressure from Leo III on tactical grounds. More likely he was convinced that proskynesis to images was excessive but that a defense was necessary on the didactic grounds mentioned.[68] All this makes sense for the beginning of iconoclasm and only then.

We should not make the mistake of comparing the situation after 787, when the cult of images was said to be reestablished but in fact had been narrowly defined for the first time and almost a [228] century had to pass before the

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not exist only within the confines of an internal history of the forms of particular traditional genres. When considered in such isolation it loses the full social content which it controls and relates to.

[63]   'Αναγωγή is hard to translate. Lange: Entwicklung (development). Thümmel: Hinaufführen (ascent).

[64]   This means that these 'beginners' can evidently already see (pictures) but cannot read (letters).

[65]   For Germanos see e.g. Stein, p. 48f. For the letter to Thomas of Klaudioupolis, see p. 54.

[66]   See the appendix below, p. 77.

[67]   Germanos does not argue in favour of proskynesis to images, either, although he assumes its existence. See Stein pp. 52, 58, and 64.

[68]   In the ἀγῶνες of the saints the thought that their lives are their true images plays a role too, so to speak, in the opinion of the iconophiles. So already Gouillard p. 66; also *Artabasdos*, p. 202 n. 633 and n. 113 below.

churches took the lead in favouring icon worship,[69] with the situation at the beginning of iconoclasm.[70]

Only these assumptions make it clear how Theodore of Stoudios could act with such fierceness against the opinion of Hypatios. He uses quite sharp words against the idea that there should be two types of Christians, one educated and one less educated, expresses his opposition to the notion of St Basil that word and image are equivalent, and explains that the two share the same τιμή and προσκύνησις. But this does not mean that the iconophiles of the eighth and ninth centuries had the same mental outlook as Hypatios.[71] More likely, Hypatios expresses opinions that were typical for the early period. But the theological developments down to the time after 787 are not enough to clarify the arguments of Theodore of Stoudios, either. He would have had to wield the same arguments and the same fierceness against Germanos or John of Damascus,[72] especially since Church traditions otherwise supported the view that educational levels corresponded to levels of intellectual sophistication.[73]

Theodore must also have had an additional reason which led him to oppose an iconophile view typical of the beginning of the controversy. The reason seems to me to have been that the official iconoclast view at the time of the publication of the letter scarcely differed from the view of Hypatios.

The letter dates to the period after 821[74] when Michael II pressured by the threats of Thomas the Slav, promoted a more conciliatory policy towards the iconophiles – he freed their supporters from jail – [229] but remained fundamentally dogmatic along the lines of his predecessor. In his letter to Louis the Pious he explained this position: because people have often abused images,

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[69] Cf. H.G. Thümmel, *Patriarch Photios und die Bilder, Eikon und Logos. Beiträge zur Erforschung byzantinischer Kulturtraditionen*, ed. H. Goltz (Halle, 1981), pp. 275–89.

[70] [262] Gouillard, for example, establishes this, p. 67.

[71] Gouillard as in n. 70.

[72] By appealing to St Basil, John of Damascus establishes the equality of words and pictures as fundamental (see the passages in *Artabasdos*, p. 189) but he also explains (*de imag.* I.47.2, p. 151 Kotter) that βίβλιοι τοῖς ἀγραμμάτοις αἱ εἰκόνες. See also n. 105 below. Germanos' letter to Thomas of Klaudioupolis: ... ἀλλὰ δεομένων καί τινων σωματικῆς κατανοήσεως πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκουσθέντων βεβαίωσιν. ὅσον ἐπωφελέστερον τε καὶ περισπουδαστότερον. For the rest of the citation see on p. 72 at n. 106.

[73] On this point cf. Lange, p. 56f.

[74] A.P. Dobroklonskii, *Prep. Feodor ispoviednik i igumen Studiiskii* (Odessa, 1914) II.1, p. 480.

orthodoxi imperatores et doctissimi sacerdotes in a local *concilium* had
decided (Leo V, his son Constantine [Smbat] and the synod of 815 are meant) to
place images only in the upper parts of churches *ut ipsa pictura pro scriptura
haberetur.* And he (Michael II) adhered to this decision.[75] But Hypatios, too,
could have lived with this kind of church – or at least that is what Theodore
believes. In spite of the policy change, Michael could not, therefore, so long as
he remained clearly an iconoclast, reckon that his position would somehow be
honoured by Theodore, who always and gladly took a radical position.

A detectable concrete motive seems to lie behind the vehemence of
Theodore.[76] Nīketas, the recipient of the letter, was ready to reach an agreement
with Michael with the help of Hypatios' arguments and informed Theodore of
this. Or it might have been asserted – and Niketas might have kindly conveyed
this to Theodore – that the 'martyr' Hypatios actually did not differ from
the prevailing official interpretation and that Theodore ought to rethink his
position once more.

Could this be the reason that Theodore does not mention the name of
Hypatios? Or should the assumption be that he recognized that Hypatios was
persecuted by the iconoclasts and also knew that the fragment came from
him?[77] But only a thorough study of the second iconoclasm will answer all
these questions, and there is no room to undertake such a study here.

Still, the question of the form in [230] which Theodore presented the text
deserves some further thought. Gouillard explains that it was the complete
ζητήματα of Hypatios and not something like the florilegium preserved in
Paris. gr. 1115.[78] In fact Theodore mentions a βιβλίον that Niketas had sent
him and says that ὁ τοῦτο συγγραψάμενος was not ὀρθοφρονῶν.[79] But
consequently only the author of the book, i.e., the work, can be named.

But then one has to wonder exactly why Theodore emphasizes or focuses
attention on a paragraph also found in the florilegium, where it is reported

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[75]   Mansi 14, 417–422, here 420B–E. In summaries of this letter (as F. Dölger, *Regesten
der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, v. I (Munich, 1924) Regest 408, and Martin
p. 204) it is not clear that Michael does not expressly disassociate himself from the line of his
predecessors.

[76]   Martin, ibid., n. 2, has already noticed that Theodore's letter rejects Michael's view-
point. Using this letter as though it expounded a systematic theology would therefore be a
mistake.

[77]   Gouillard shows this convincingly on p. 61.

[78]   [263] p. 67

[79]   PG 99, 1537A.

that Hypatios' work contained at least two books and included more than one chapter about problems with images. This coincidence can hardly be an accident.

Now that J. A. Munitiz has shown that the scribal note in the Paris gr. is actually a deliberate mistake,[80] scholars no longer have to bring the note into play for the purpose of dating or even of assigning an exact location to the iconophile florilegium in this manuscript. Instead they must try and date the florilegium according to its own criteria.[81] Without fundamental analysis of this florilegium we can certainly not say whether we can ever establish which tendency in icon worship compiled this florilegium or when. Meanwhile it is no longer out of the question that Theodore of Stoudios – and not the florilegium – is the oldest evidence for the work of Hypatios.

Given these assumptions, the hypothesis of S. Gero that Hypatios became known only in 815 gains importance.[82] Taking into account what has been said so far, one may wish to assume that the iconoclasts of 815 could not make any use of the text but that when people encountered the text after 821, the importance [231] of the interpretation of Hypatios for the support of one's own policy was thoroughly understood. Therefore Theodore received the book and his attention was explicitly drawn to the fifth chapter. So it would even be plausible that the fifth chapter became part of the subsequently attached florilegium under the influence of this debate, which, as the letter of Theodore shows, hinges on this very chapter.

Lastly, we must still answer the question of how it happened that before this

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[80]   J.A. Munitiz, 'Le Parisinus Graecus 1115: Description et arrière-plan historique', *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), pp. 51–67.

[81]   C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850' in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen, A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, DC, 1975), pp. 29–45, quotes all possible evidence, p. 33f. In addition one would have to establish the form in which Pope Gregory II's letter to Germanos surfaces in the florilegium. According to Munitiz (as in n. 80 above), p. 61, the only possibility is fol. 281v. For the problem of the interpolation of this letter, cf. *Artabasdos*, Appendix II, pp. 155–78.

[82]   Gero, p. 209 n. 10, refers to the famous book collection made in preparation for the synod of 815, *Script. inc. de Leone Bardae fil.*, 350 (Bonn) after Leo Grammaticus. The latest on this subject is Mango (as in n. 81 above), p. 35. It would in fact be a nice piece of evidence for this book collection, which proves to be legendary: the foolish iconoclasts collect books and find nothing that they are looking for! But even if people might hear the news about the discovery of the work of Hypatios of Ephesos, we do not know whether the collection reached the provinces. We must naturally wonder how widely disseminated the ζητήματα were and where such a copy could be kept, considering that it surfaced after 815.

time Hypatios of Ephesos could drop so far out of sight that he was not mentioned anywhere. Yet that is in fact not so amazing as it seems at first sight. The council of 787 mentions only three champions of icon worship condemned by name at the council of 754.[83] I could not say whether no one else was mentioned in 787 because people did not know about them or because people no longer wanted to name them out of deference to the dynasty.[84] Remember, all these martyrs were officially traitors.[85] I think the second explanation more likely. But after the council and even down to the years at the turn of the century, memories of the first iconoclasm and its beginnings remained so weak that people would accept pure fantasy like the *Life of Stephen the Younger* as history. Even in historical writings they had hardly any means of better information.[86] No wonder that Hypatios disappeared in these circumstances and that a synaxarion was cobbled together for him, probably on the basis of local traditions and with the help of every historiographical cliché about the wicked iconoclasts. Yet all this is no reason to doubt his historical reality nor to deny him authorship of the σύμμικτα ζητήματα.

[232] 128.5–7 (=37–39): Thus we still see how the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments often and in many respects departs from the true path (in the sense of οἰκονομία[87]) for the sake of those who are weak in their souls.

Thümmel[88] gets himself into trouble with this sentence and rejects the correct translation of Alexander and Lange,[89] since he does not take τὰς ψυχάς as a Greek accusative with τοῖς ἀσθενέσι and overlooks the middle of συγκατακλινομένας.

128.9 (=41): Since Lange and Thümmel[90] refer to Alexander's emendation of τορνευτάς (carved) to τορευτάς (worked in metal),[91] taking this reading into the text would be appropriate. Or should we really imagine cherubim turned on the lathe?

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[83]   See pp. 81–82 below.

[84]   [264] Cf. *Artabasdos* passim, especially p. 225.

[85]   Deference to the dynasty played a part in the deliberations. Cf. *Konstantin VI*, p. 140.

[86]   Cf. *Artabasdos*, index s.vv. Damaskos, Stephanos der Jüngere, Vita des Germanos.

[87]   On this point see Lange, p. 54 n. 53.

[88]   P. 169 n. 29.

[89]   Alexander, p. 179. Lange, p. 51.

[90]   Lange, p. 51 n. 43, Thümmel, p. 169 n. 30.

[91]   P. 179 n. 20 with reference to Exod. 25.8.

128.9 (=41): Alexander and Lange[92] translate using the genitive, just as though the words were τῶν Χερουβίμ. That, too, belongs to the text. The manuscript reading τοῖς Χερουβίμ is senseless. Thümmel[93] translates using the dative: Moses has erected images for the cherubim. But Moses most certainly did not do that; he did not worship the cherubim as gods nor erect images for them.

128.14 (=47): Diekamp's ταύτας (referring to θυσιῶν) should be preferred to the ταῦτα of the manuscript.[94]

128.8–23 (=39–56): Let me make the following remark about this passage of citations from the Bible, where consideration, shall we say, is shown for those who are not yet entirely sure of their faith or their understanding of it.[95] The list appears to derive from some collection made by Hypatios. No precedents or parallels [233] exist. This is similar to early florilegia, where one always has the impression that everybody made his own collection and that despite overlaps neither the iconoclasts nor the iconophiles had a unified collection. Yet there is surely a pressing need to analyse this.

The character of this compilation corresponds to that made by John of Damascus in order to confront opponents with the sinfulness of an unconditional observance of the Old Testament's prohibition of images. In it John introduces other commandments from Old Testament which no Christian obeys.[96] Yet there are no points in common when it comes to the passages cited here.[97]

The argument in 128.14f. (=46f.) that in fact the θεολογία, which means the Holy Scriptures, discourages Israel from sacrificing to gods (ἀπάγει θυσιῶν εἰδώλων) but permits sacrifice (ἐνδίδωσι) to be brought before God Himself, does not appear in the Bible. Exod. 22.19 and the other relevant passages are not about permission at all but instead about an explicit command. The attitude

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[92] Alexander, p. 179 and Lange p. 51.

[93] P. 169.

[94] But Diekamp's critical apparatus does not need as much explaining as Gero supposes on p. 215 n. 30.

[95] Cf. also Lange, p. 51f.

[96] De imag. I.16.85 (p. 92 Kotter) and II.14.36–45 (p. 106 Kotter). On this point, see Artabasdos, p. 194.

[97] In many other connections John cites Exod. 34.13f. (de imag. I.6.11–20; p. 80 Kotter), which corresponds somewhat to Exod. 22.19, a passage quoted by Hypatios 128.14 (=46f.). See the following.

is that offerings of every kind are, as a polemic of Leontios of Neapolis puts it, of evil provenance. In this work, the Jew has to take the iconoclast's place as the enemy.[98] Christ says: Καὶ πῶς εἰδωλολάτρας ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν αἱ προσαγόμεναι τοῖς εἰδώλοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν θυσίαι τῶν προβάτων καὶ βοῶν καὶ τέκνων; ποῦ αἱ κνίσσαι, ποῦ οἱ βωμοὶ καὶ προσχύσεις τῶν αἱμάτων; ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Χριστανοὶ οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτε θυσίαν ἢ τί ἐστιν ἐπιστάμεθα.

Besides, this kind of interpretation, which assumes that it really would have been better for the Jews not to sacrifice, is perhaps in its spirituality a way of explaining that in their general attitude the iconoclasts adhere more [234] to pure spirituality more surely than the iconophiles do. But in this matter my theological understanding does not reach any further.

As for the argument in 128.17–23 (=49–56), that the Bible even uses Greek names for stars (συνεξελληνίζουσα τῇ φωνῇ), out of consideration for those who still needed such examples, but does not admit the corresponding Greek myths (πρὸς οὐδένα τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἕλλησι λεγομένων ἢ μύθων ἢ ἱστοριῶν κατακλίνεται), this seems to be unique – unless other instances of it are found – and thereby testifies that Hypatios himself had put a lot of thought and effort into it.[99] He also seems to indicate that Julian really had used the argument of the Ἕλληνες and their idols,[100] so that Hypatios could set out a 'this far and no further' regarding the Ἕλληνες.

128.24–30 (=57–63): Thus we also allow decorative material (κόσμον ὑλικόν) on holy objects, not because gold, silver, silk or jewelled embroidery seemed sacred or worthy of God, but because we concede that each class of believers is led along and drawn towards the divine in its own way. For many people are led by these things to a sense of intellectual beauty (ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν εὐπρέπειαν). From the manifold light of holy objects they transcend to the intellectual and immaterial light (ἐπὶ τὸ νοητὸν καὶ ἄϋλον φῶς).

This paragraph leads to the following reflections: the words κόσμον ὑλικόν sound apologetic. The accusation that the iconophiles adored ὕλη must hide behind this.

So, following Hypatios' formulation (κόσμον ὑλικὸν ἐῶμεν), [235] it seems that the opponent, in this case Julian, favours completely undecorated

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[98]   [265] Mansi 13, 49C/D. For the date of composition, see the Appendix below.
[99]   One must repeatedly make it clear that the so-called Dark Ages did not affect theology.
[100] See p. 61f. above.

churches. But that is historically and theologically nonsense, even for icono-clasts. Hypatios consequently avoids Julian's essential argument, i.e., that the iconophiles adore ὕλη and speaks quite freely about 'decorative material' which was never attacked. That way he steered clear of images and image-adoration. His 'argumentative dishonesty' permits two conclusions:

Firstly, confirmation of the lacunae postulated above or even the main assertion, that additional chapters of the ζητήματα dealt with questions involving images. Somewhere Julian introduced his argument about ὕλη.

Secondly, we are actually in the eighth century, since the attack on pros-kynesis to ὕλη is a main objection on the part of the anonymous opponent of John of Damascus and an important part of the debate at the council of 754.[101]

128.25 (=58): σειρικῆς ἐσθῆτος: Silk is mentioned here and given a prominence comparable to gold, silver and jewelled embroidery, but the possible conclusion that icons are made with it and that it was produced at home, not abroad, is striking for the sixth century,[102] though quite normal for the eighth.

128.28–30 (=61–65): The concluding thought also belongs to the discussion of the eighth century. While only 'mental perception' was possible for the iconoclasts,[103] John of Damascus and patriarch Germanos argued as Hypatios did, that is:

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[101] Cf. the index of Kotter s.v. ὕλη (p. 227f.), and *Artabasdos*, pp. 191–93 and 217. Yet John of Damascus is very aggressive in his opposition to Hypatios and through the criticisms relating to physical matter taunts his opponent with the heresy of Manichaeanism. Hypatios lacks the boldness to do any such thing. As an imperial subject he is cautious, as is Germanos. Cf. *Artabasdos* pp. 274–76. For the rest, it is surprising how often people have investigated what is monophysite or Nestorian in iconoclasm, just because the iconoclasts were accused of these heresies, yet no one has ever reached the conclusion that the Manichaeism of the iconoclasts springs from the Manichaeans. Yet this charge persists down to the end of Iconoclasm. Cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 376 n. 649. Is it reasonable to think that such labeling should convey nothing about historical origins, but only place the opponent in already condemned categories of heretics? When George the Monk battles against real Manichaeism and iconoclasm, his polemic is immoderate, his abuse lewd. All this probably has something to do with the comparison drawn by John of Damascus (See H. Hunger, 'Byzantinische Literatur' in *Lexikon des Mittelalters II* [1983] col. 1190).

[102] [266] Silk production in Byzantium had just begun in the sixth century. Cf. H. Wada, *Prokops Rätselwort Serinda und die Verpflanzung des Seidenbaus von China nach dem oströmischen Reich* (Cologne, 1970), p. 87.

[103] *Artabasdos*, p. 200f.

I.33.1f (p. 145 Kotter)[104]: Εἰ τοίνυν … αἰσθηταῖς [236] εἰκόσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἄϋλον ἀναγόμεθα θεωρίαν.[105] 116A: Images also represent χειραγωγίαν δέ τινα τῶν μὴ πάντη εἰς τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἀνάγεσθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς θεωρίας ἐξισχυόντων.[106] It is inconceivable that this sort of argument already existed in the sixth century and that Hypatios was in effect a model for John of Damascus and Germanos. All three are contemporaries. Nor can we as yet establish who used these arguments first.

128.31 – 129.10 (=64–71): Whether this section belongs to the ζητήματα of Hypatios I cannot really say (see below for more on this matter) but it is obviously out of place here, when one compares the following, final section and takes on board the fact that even in the eighth century people did not think and write complete nonsense.

129.11–14 (=78–82): This sentence sensibly and easily follows the sentence that finishes at 128.30 (=63): Therefore we do not violate divine commands, but merely extend our hand to those who are still not so enlightened. Yet we insist that they, too, realize that nothing is identical to the divinity, and nothing is similar or comparable to it.

Hypatios replies with surprising vehemence to the criticism that the iconophiles wanted to see something similar or comparable to the divine or even identical to it. In the part that has been preserved, however, the criticism is not raised. One must assume that it was probably already indirectly raised in the fifth chapter – as 127.19f. (=20f.) would indicate – and that Julian would have put forward the criticism in the part that now constitutes the lacuna. Only this [237] explains the emphatic rejection at 127.27 (=30f.) and the important fact that this same rejection forms the conclusion to the whole chapter. Yet we know too little to be able to evaluate theological thinking about images. That goes especially for the question of when and under what conditions similarity, comparability and even sameness are not desirable according to Hypatios. At the very least one assumes that Hypatios will use greater rhetorical verve to say

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[104] Significantly found in a scholion to Dionysios Areopagites. For the problem, see p. 76 below.

[105] In the same paragraph φιλανθρώπως even appears (2f.) and that happens τῆς ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν χειραγωγίας (4). Since John of Damascus here includes himself, he offers Theodore of Stoudios fewer points of attack than Hypatios does. See n. 72 above.

[106] See the continuation of the citation at n. 72 above and cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 274.

the same thing that other iconophiles manage with a simple reference to John 5.37: no one proposes to paint pictures of the divine.[107]

If the thought process of the fifth chapter has been clarified down to the presumed lacuna, there remains the question of what the paragraph just mentioned, from 128.31 – 129.10 (=64–77), ought to mean in this context, especially since one assumes that it links up with the preceding train of thought. It runs as follows:

Nevertheless, some of those who look towards a higher life[108] not only think it right to offer spiritual adoration to God everywhere (τὴν ἐν πνεύματι λατρείαν θεῷ πρόσαγειν), but also think it right and good for devout souls to be God's temples. Both thoughts need further interpretation and are accompanied by a series of citations from the text. These citations begin with 'Βούλομαι', γάρ φησιν εἰρηκέναι τὰ λόγια,... Alexander[109] had already remarked that one could well emend this to φασιν, which would refer to those who philosophise about the higher life. Thümmel translates φησιν as 'one says'.

But if one recalls that the whole thing is a quotation, the latter is wrong and the former unnecessary. It cannot be a quotation from Julian – it would have to be introduced by φῇς.[110] So it must be another [238] person who had already been introduced by Julian or Hypatios, on the assumption that this was a section of the image debate in the ζητήματα. But on the basis of the following considerations, this section cannot belong here.

Lange, the only one so far who has interpreted this section, has remarked that the perfect believer is contrasted to the believer who needs concessions.[111] Yet this does not make sense. The issue is not the perfect believer,

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[107] Cf. also *Artabasdos*, p. 188f. Lange, p. 55, aims too high for Hypatios when he claims that Hypatios had no 'dogmatischen Rahmen' (dogmatic framework). Like Germanos, Hypatios defended himself. See n. 101 above.

[108] Τῶν τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ζωὴν φιλοσοφησάντων, who are probably monks. Cf. Lange, p. 53 n. 49.

[109] P. 180 n. 29.

[110] Reading φῇς here would assign everything to Julian.

[111] P. 53 with further elaboration on p. 56:

1. The transcendence of God the creator contradicts [267] the limitation which is implied by images ('Man solle allen Ortes Gott Anbetung im Geiste darbringen [Let people spiritually offer worship to God everywhere]').

2. The soul of an honest person is the only place where Christ is present. ('Man solle

but that spiritual worship can be offered everywhere (and not just in churches?) and that devout souls are temples of the Lord (and church buildings are not?). Thus the notions of Lange cannot justify the existence of this section in this passage.

To say how the section found its way here, one must examine Paris gr. 1115. If the shift first occurred in this manuscript, any connection is possible, but if it had already entered the florilegium, a theological and image-related connection might exist. Then the idea that we are dealing with a section of the ζητήματα of Hypatios might not be unfounded.

With respect to content, a link between the section and the topic of images may be established only very tentatively. The invocation of Spirit and Truth according to John 4.23 – οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ – played a part from the beginning of iconoclasm onwards and the iconoclasts probably thrust it upon the iconophiles as a challenge.[112] Yet it always applies to genuine worship and the objects of worship (proskynesis before images), not to the place of worship.

[239] In the case of the second idea, Alexander has already shown that the iconoclasts introduced the thesis that the true image of Christ is the man who lives virtuously.[113] This is what is being referred to here, yet Alexander could reach this conclusion only since he assumed that the section belonged to the fragment about the theology of images. Yet man's soul being God's temple has absolutely nothing to do with the question at hand.

The following Biblical passages[114] for the most part do not appear in the arguments about images and theology[115] and if they do, they mostly have a different interpretation:

2 Corinthians 6.16 (=1 Corinthians 3.16) are found in this text at

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heilige Seelen als Tempel Gottes ansehen [People ought to view a devout soul as a temple of God]').

With such talk one can prove everything but interpret no sources. Besides, the logical consequence would be that Hypatios, too, would see nothing special when he worshipped God – that is, nothing in front of the altar.

[112] Cf. Stein, p. 18, and his index of authors under John. 4.23.

[113] P. 180 n. 22. Cf. also M. V. Anastos, 'The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815' in *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 8 (1954), pp. 151–60, especially 155. See also note 68 above.

[114] In the citation from Is. 66.1 at 129.3 (=70), οἶκον should be included, as by Diekamp. The loss of a word before οἰκοδομήσετε does not need to be positively proven.

[115] According to the information in the indexes of Kotter and Stein.

128.32f.=65f. John of Damascus III.33.16f. (=p. 137 Kotter) quotes them in connection with the issue of something created that is worshipped through proskynesis, and particularly in connection with things in which God resides.

Leontios of Neapolis[116] uses the same citations in Mansi 13, 49B11–C4 (=PG 93, 164C/D): εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονὼς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὴν ἐνοίκησιν δεξάμενος. δικαίως οὖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλων τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (according to 1 Corinthians 3.16) δοξάζω. ἐνοικήσω γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς, φησί, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω (2 Corinthians 6.16). Here, too, one could construct a connection to the theology of images, but only prove that the paragraph does not belong to the passage in which it is preserved. Interestingly, Leontios of Neapolis cites a second Biblical parallel for the sentence, Isaiah 66.1[117]; Mansi 12, 48D9–E5 (=PG 93, 1604A): ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ἔφη καὶ πῶς διὰ [240] πάσης γραφῆς παραγγέλλει ὁ θεὸς προσκυνῆσαι παντὶ κτίσματι; Ὁ Χριστιανὸς ἔφη· εἰπέ μοι, ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ὄρη κτίσματά εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· δηλονότι. ὁ Χριστιανός· πῶς οὖν διδάσκει· ὑψοῦτε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποποδίῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἅγιος ἐστιν, καὶ· προσκυνεῖτε εἰς ὄρος ἅγιον αὐτοῦ (Psalm 98.5 and 9); καὶ πάλιν αὐτός φησιν· ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου (Is. 66.1)[118] So, one could also establish a connection to the theology of images in the sentence in question, yet once again only under the assumption that the sentence does not belong there.

However, other interpretive approaches are also conceivable, like praise of the way of life of a hermit. We should therefore rest assured that the paragraph is misplaced and that we cannot establish whether the passage is related to

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[116] For the date of composition, see the Appendix.

[117] The citation is also in John of Damascus I.27.3–7 (p. 117 Kotter) with a line of argument as in Leontios of Neapolis. This also offers evidence for the date proposed for Leontios in the Appendix.

[118] The next stage of the argument (down to 49A2) is instructive. The Jew explains, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς θεούς. [268] ἀλλ' δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα προσκυνεῖς, and the Christian is truly delighted, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, for the Jew knows that only God receives proskynesis directly. Everything else has a position as a mediator. That is what later was called σχετικὴ προσκύνεσις and this concept naturally presupposes that originally the iconophiles faced attacks for a wrong interpretation of Holy Scripture when they somewhat naively quoted these Biblical passages. Yet the opponent instantly can put the correct words in their mouth. This, too, favours dating Leontios in the eighth century.

the question of images at all. Nor is it clear whether it was even written by Hypatios.[119] Perhaps the context for the section will eventually be identified.

Kitzinger and Gouillard have remarked that in his style and type of argument Hypatios of Ephesos very much depends on Dionysios Areopagites and illustrate this with the help of many passages.[120] But it is also known that the Hypatios of the sixth century spoke out against Dionysios, so nothing else remains except to explain the dependence as 'quelque chose piquante'[121] or to deny it or refer it to a general 'Neoplatonic' style and argumentation.[122] Yet through assigning the text to the eighth century we solve this problem and can proceed to investigate the influence of Dionysios on the early theology in favour of images. Thus we can establish that this influence is greater [241] than has been recently acknowledged.[123]

To sum up, the following conclusions emerge concerning the fragment of Hypatios of Ephesos:

The text contains a lacuna, and more corrupt passages than previously acknowledged, and in one passage has undergone interpolation – possibly by accident. But it is not as complicated or difficult as it seems.

The text belongs to the Hypatios of Ephesos of the eighth century and constitutes an additional document for the theological discussion of the first decades of iconoclasm.

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[119] The distinctive common trait is the use of λόγια as Holy Scripture, 127.6 (=6) and 128.34 (=67), but this does not prove much.

[120] Kitzinger, p. 138 and Gouillard, p. 74f.

[121] Lange, p. 59.

[122] Gero, p. 211f. with n. 20.

[123] Much in *Artabasdos* that was unclear to me belongs in this realm also. See p. 200 with n. 629.

Appendix
On the Dialogue with a Jew
by Leontios of Neapolis

[242] My habit is first to develop a thesis with the help of sources and only then check secondary literature to see whether something comparable has already been published,[124] and so only after I composed my manuscript, did I discover that Edward James Martin had already offered this hypothesis in 1930. Martin's work then remained unnoticed except for a negative response by N. Baynes. Since Martin does not prove his hypothesis, the following appendix is not superfluous and in any event I quote Martin's own wording at the end. In this way the reader can get advance information about what to expect.

The *Dialogue with a Jew* by Leontios of Neapolis, like the fragment of Hypatios of Ephesos, dates from the beginning of iconoclasm.[125] Part of it was read at the Council of 787, under the title Λεοντίου ἐπισκόπου Νεαπόλεως τῆς Κύπρου ἐκ τοῦ πέμπτου λόγου ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογίας κατὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ περὶ εἰκόνων τῶν ἁγίων.[126] It is not possible for us to analyse this text with the same thoroughness as that of Hypatios; all the same, it is possible [243] to note some particularities that make dating it to the eighth century a neccessity.

The subject of the polemic is the veneration of images, thus icons in a narrower sense (this is clear for example, from 45C3–D1; 1600C). Even from the point of view of *principiis obsta*, this is very surprising for the early seventh century, which had direct experience of the initial development of this kind of images.

The whole dialogue focuses on the question of proskynesis (for example, 44C11ff.; 1597Cf.) and the Old Testament justification for it. As has already

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[124] Because of this I constantly tend to overlook important literature. It is sometimes embarrassing, as in *Artabasdos*, p. 170f. Here I interpret the words τῆς ὑπερμάχου σου in Gregory II's letter to the Patriarch Germanos as important proof that Germanos had composed the second proem of the Akathistos hymn. But the same thing had already been done for the same reasons by M. Huglo, 'L'ancienne version Latine de l'hymne [269] acathiste', *Le Muséon* 64 (1951), pp. 27–61, particularly 54. This should not have happened!

[125] For arguments in favour of this hypothesis, see nn. 117 and 118 above.

[126] Mansi 13, 44A (=PG 93, 1597A). The text continues down to 53C (=1609A).

been said, both of the main points in the discussion derive from the eighth century. In the seventh they would be strange.

Icons were kissed (45D13f.; 1600D) in the early seventh century?

Shortly after 600, the equation of reliquaries and images with dispellers of demons (48C5f;1601C) would almost be a sensation.

When the Christian says that he destroys heathen temples daily (48B2f. or 1601B: ὁρῶν με καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ναοὺς εἰδώλων καταλύοντα), that is not historical fact for the time around 600, just the eighth century's notion of what could have happened earlier.

The famous quote by St Basil (ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει[127]) was first used by John of Damascus;[128] Patriarch Germanos had already referred to it indirectly[129] and it might have already been included in the first iconophile florilegia. But it seems to be out of the question that this quotation inspired allusions a century previously (49B6f.; 1604C): ἡ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ τιμὴ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατρέχει. This is especially surprising if we consider that even in the eighth century [244] removing or banning images of saints met with great difficulties.[130]

The argument in 52C3–7; 1650D serves as the conclusion of a longer counterplay of arguments: against the objection advanced by the partisans of images, i.e., that Moses had used images in the tabernacle, the Jew will answer that if God has given Moses a command, this seems to be a legitimate exception to the prohibition on images. In reply, the Christian will explain that Solomon received no express command yet still decorated the temple. He had been right to do so, since God had not taken action against him.

Once we trust the idea that this dialogue is a work of the eighth century, the following surprise is in store for us. Since John of Damascus was pretty safe from sanctions outside imperial territory, in the debate before 754 he argued very openly and pointedly, whereas the patriarch Germanos and even Hypatios of Ephesos said the same thing in a more cryptic and wholly inoffensive fashion.[131] By comparison, the author of the dialogue under discussion is from

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[127] *De spiritu sancto* 18.45, ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit*, Sources chrétiennes 17a (2nd ed., Paris, 1968), p. 406, 19f.

[128] I.21.41f. (p. 108 Kotter), I.35.6f. (p. 147), I.51.8f. (p. 154). See also *Artabasdos*, p. 166 with n. 539.

[129] Cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 276.

[130] Ibid., p. 195f.

[131] See n. 101 above.

first to last very decisive and has no scruples of any kind. Of course, the opponent is 'the Jew', whom one can abuse in every possible way without having to name a specific opponent. The actual opponent is the iconoclast of the eighth century.

The dialogue is thus not a polemic against the Jews, but against the iconoclasts. In it the Jew serves only as camouflage for the unnamed enemy. The Jew is therefore a pretext and alibi,[132] yet not actually meant. On this score the author is certainly very clever:

If he makes clear to the Jew (52A; 1605B/C) that even the Old Testament is familiar with what may be called reliquaries and that [245] this cult is also justified, we must not conclude that the iconoclasts had something against reliquaries.[133] But the Jews probably had something against them and only in this way can the author effectively bring up the analogy with images.

In 52B/C or 1605C/D – this is very refined – the Jew makes assertions about what the Ἕλλην εἰδωλολάτρης might say when he saw the cherubim and other works of art in the temple. The charge that the iconophiles resemble heathens thus meets a very elegant rebuttal. In particular, the Jew would have to explain to the Ἕλλην that people (52B13f.;1605D) use these works not ὡς θεούς but εἰς ἀνάμνησιν θεοῦ καὶ δόξαν and so would elegantly contradict the iconoclast who hides behind him.

The argument in 52E7–10 (1608B) is on a similar level. Here the Christian says not simply that the iconoclast still adores the cross, but advises the Jew that he should know that if he sees a Christian adore the cross that the προσκύνησις belongs to the crucified Christ. Hence the iconoclast must in effect concede that a proskynesis does not always belong to the immediate object but can pass over to one standing beyond it.

Still, we should not believe that this camouflaging the iconoclast behind the Jew in some measure serves to save the author from counter-attack. Instead, addressing the iconoclast as a Jew displays even greater insolence than dealing with him directly would, for 'Jew' as a term of abuse for the theological opponent is surely just as unpleasant as Ἕλλην, if not worse. We should also assume that this text was written outside the boundaries of the empire or at least in an area where direct action [246] by the emperor was impossible.

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[132] Here might lie the roots of the development that ascribed the blame for iconoclasm to the Jews along with the Arabs. Cf. *Konstantin VI.*, p. 140.

[133] Cf. J. Wortley, 'Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics', *ByzF* 8 (1982), pp. 253–79.

But Leontios of Neapolis is a Cypriot and in the eighth century Cyprus was a kind of condominium shared by Byzantium and the Arabs.[134] The particulars of this arrangement, including the matter of prosecution and punishment are completely unknown. In any case Cyprus could have been a place where the dialogue was composed.

It is remarkable that after the dialogue was read aloud, Constantine of Constantia, a town on Cyprus, did not explicitly recognize this section as genuine. He merely explained that Leontios lived on Cyprus, named some of his works, attested to his orthodoxy and dated him to the time of the emperor Maurice (53C/D; 1609A)

John of Damascus, who wrote before 754,[135] knew about this dialogue[136] and cited it, apparently in good faith, under the name of Leontios of Neapolis, no doubt just as the council did as an extract from the fifth book,[137] though admittedly with a different title:[138] Λεοντίου Νεαπόλεως τῆς Κύπρου ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων λόγου περὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσι τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν λειψάνων τῶν ἀγίων.

Finally, it is remarkable that the Roman delegates were the ones who brought the book with them (from Rome?) and had it read aloud (44A) and that the Anatolian delegate John (53D) explains that all of this redounds to the honour of the previously mentioned father (Leontios), since it was the Roman delegates who had presented a book to the synod.

Should we conclude from this information that the book was composed in Cyprus and from there made its way to Constantinople via Jerusalem and Rome? In the eighth century that would be a not uncommon itinerary.

Among the three iconophiles who were anathematised by the council of 754 was George of [247] Cyprus[139] along with the patriarch Germanos and John of

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[134] Cf. R. Jenkins, 'Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam' in *Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson* II (St. Louis, 1953), [270] pp. 1006–1014=*Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London, 1970), no. XII.

[135] Cf. *Artabasdos*, Appendix III, pp. 179–243.

[136] Cf. the index fontium in Kotter, p. 208. This makes 754 the *terminus ante quem* for the *Dialogue with a Jew*, yet the relation of John of Damascus to this work still requires special investigation. John knew more than was read out in 787, cf. III.85 (p. 179 Kotter). In any case, the idea that the dialogue was composed in this 30s or 40s does not rest on this connection.

[137] 3.84 and 85 (p. 178f. Kotter) as πέμπτου λόγου.

[138] 1.54.1–4 (p. 156 Kotter).

[139] Mansi 13, 356C/D.

Damascus. In the year 787 he got rehabilitated:[140] Ἰωάννου καὶ Γεωργίου αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη. But next to John of Damascus and Germanos he plays no role to speak of.[141] Yet it seems possible that George of Cyprus is the author of the dialogue. The council of 754 gives him this attribute: φαλσευτὴς τῶν πατρικῶν διδασκαλιῶν and calls him ὁμόφρων along with Germanos.[142] Naturally this does not mean that in the opinion of the council of 754 George had forged writings, but only that like Germanos he had acted in a literary capacity against the iconoclasts.

But since there is only one known work that justified images and came from Cyprus – and the attribution to Leontios argues in favour of this place of origin – the following hypothetical course of events can be supposed:

Parallel to Patriarch Germanos (and some time before John of Damascus), George of Cyprus takes a stand in favour of images. He is prosecuted and maybe sentenced,[143] and in any event anathematized at the council of 754. His reinstatement in 787 shows signs of ignorance. People either knew nothing or for political and tactical reasons vindicated George the 'theologian', but not George the 'high traitor'.[144]

If Constantine of Constantia does not realize that the dialogue is a work of George and readily accepts the attribution to Leontios, that can also mean that he either knew nothing or wanted to know nothing. Yet in my view Constantine does not really belong to the literati of the council and hardly even knows anything about Cyprus. At least he says nothing about George, yet tells a story about a man who took a stick and poked out one of Mary's eyes [248] in a picture of her and then proceeded to destroy his own eye with the same stick. Constantine also tells about another man who was hammering a nail in the forehead of a picture of St Peter in order to hang a curtain in front of it and had a terrible headache until he extracted the nail again.[145]

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[140] Mansi 13, 400C.

[141] Cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 390 n. 749. The interpretation that I advanced at ibid., p. 379 n. 657, that Pope Gregory II had replaced George finds support in the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Mansi 13, 400C): Gregorii instead of Georgii.

[142] As in n. 139 above.

[143] Considering the legal position of Cyprus, this is unclear.

[144] Germanos too was evidently condemned for high treason, [271] cf. *Artabasdos*, esp. p. 258. His vindication in 787 is then a very compelling assumption (see n. 140 above). It also jibes with indulgence granted by the iconoclast emperor because of dynastic considerations. See n. 85 above.

[145] Mansi 13, 77C–E.

For the rest, this hypothesis does not require that we assume that George of Cyprus deliberately wrote forgeries under the name of Leontios. It is more likely that he circulated his work anonymously, or that his name was removed. Either way, Leontios of Neapolis then came into play. The attribution of the dialogue to George – and the notion that in any case Leontios was not the author – does not actually mean that Leontios wrote nothing against Jews. Considering strong attacks on the Jews especially in the early period of Herakleios' reign this seems quite possible. But according to the varied forms in which the title of his work is transmitted to us,[146] he wrote λόγοι against the Jews, whereas our work is certainly a dialogue. This work was thus appended as a fifth speech to Leontios' other ones. In the titles of both the dialogue and λόγοι, the same phrase, κατὰ 'Ιουδαίων, is made more precise by other expressions (like καὶ περὶ εἰκόνων or περὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν λειψάνων τῶν ἁγίων, which clearly reveal that people struggled to understand the fifth λόγος, which did not suit the same title, and thus betray that the dialogue was added later.

This ought to establish that the dialogue was composed in the eighth century. It still cannot be proven that George of Cyprus was the author. Yet on this score let me offer the thought that Cyprus [249] was probably used by the iconoclast side for false ascriptions, too, since some of the iconoclasts use passages allegedly written by St Epiphanios of Salamis and these are also products of the eighth century, as G. Ostrogorsky has convincingly argued, if not with success in every case.[147]

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[146] See pp. 77 and 80 above. My refusal to attribute the dialogue to Leontios of Neapolis does not mean that he did not actually write discourses against the Jews or that the unpreserved *Logoi* did not exist and circulate as his work. On the contrary, these assumptions not only suit the period of anti-Semitism under Herakleios after the loss of the Holy Land to the Persians but also writings of this kind were in fact necessary for the mistaken ascription. Yet this anti-Semitic atmosphere does not mean that the dialogue is genuine, too, as Baynes (see n. 150 below) contends in opposition to Martin. In 'A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis', *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. Hutter [*Sb. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist.* 432 (Vienna, 1984)], pp. 25–41, esp. 26 n. 6, C. Mango refers to the work of R. Foerster, *De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis Constantinopolitanis commentatio* (Rostock, 1877), p. 30, according to which a complete manuscript of the work was still available at Rhaidestos in the 16th century.

[147] See pp. 61–113. Here, too, new research is pressingly needed. In dealing with the

In fulfillment of my earlier promise[148] and in vindication of Edward James Martin, I now present the hypothesis regarding this connection as Martin offered it in 1930:[149]

The views attributed to Leontios of Neapolis in the first half of the seventh century are so complete an anticipation of the iconoclast struggle and its very arguments that the authenticity of all the passages attributed to Leontios must be gravely suspect. Coming at least in name from Cyprus like the spurious quotations of Epiphanios, it may be that one is the counterblast to the other. It is attractive to conjecture that Leontios is really the champion of orthodoxy, George of Cyprus.

And for all those optimists who still believe that correct views win out, I close with the verdict of H. H. Baynes on Martin's hypothesis:[150]

This judgment seems to me perverse.

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passages from Epiphanios scholars must in my view distinguish those that are relatively harmless – and even might be genuine – and those that present the lines of argument of the eighth century [272] and put forward ascriptions that are surely false.

[148] See p. 77 above.

[149] See p. 141f.

[150] P. 103.

'Interpolations et non-sens indiscutables': The First Poem of the *Ptochoprodromika*

'Interpolations et non-sens indiscutables'. Das erste Gedicht der
Ptochoprodromika

[275] Le lecteur...verra, que le texte conferme des interpolations et des non-sens indiscutables... Plus nous relions cet écrit, dans l'état où il nous est parvenu, plus nous sommes frappés de son absurdité. C'est uniquement pour ne pas paraître tomber dans l'arbitraire et non par convictions que nous avons reproduit telles quelles les données de G., en signalant dans les notes nos doutes et nos principales objections.

<div align="right">D.-C. Hesseling and H. Pernot (p. 14f.)</div>

Whereas in the natural sciences one should no longer unquestioningly accept one's dependence on measuring and on evidence obtained by means of measuring – not in the wake of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle – in the humanities the continuing inferiority complex towards the 'exact' sciences, namely that nothing can be proved by measuring, seems to be virulent.

Only in this way am I able to explain why W. Hörandner says goodbye to an otherwise very significant thesis[1] merely because someone has presented him with a series of numbers.[2] There is no need to spell out that this does not settle the question.

In this question of statistical analysis – the subject is a metrical phenomenon we need not pursue – H. and Niki Eideneier are certainly [276] careful enough to avoid letting the *Ptochoprodromika*, edited by D.-C. Hesseling and H. Pernot,[3]

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[1] [301] W. Hörandner, 'Zur Frage der Metrik früher volksprachlicher Texte. Kann Theodoros Prodromos der Verfasser volkssprachlicher Gedichte sein?', in *XVI. Int. Byz.- Kongr. Akten II.3=Jahrb. Österr. Byz.* 32.2 (1982), pp. 375–81. He cannot!

[2] H. and Niki Eideneier, 'Zum Fünfzehnsilber der Ptochoprodromika', Αφιέρωμα στον καγηγητή Λίνο Πολίτη (Thessalonike, 1979), pp. 1–7.

[3] *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Verhandl. d. Koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschapen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, n.s. 11.1 (1910).

go without a basic examination. Instead they first deal with each individual manuscript and only then establish a norm.

Nevertheless one can raise fundamental objections[4] or ask quite specific questions about the method: for example, how do we know that in the case of poem IV the text of manuscript G,[5] which preserves the whole poem, ought to be viewed as *one* work by *one* poet?[6] A cursory reading of the text already makes clear that with regard to poem IV, G is a compilation and contains pieces from several authors.[7] Statistically, one should not have treated them equally.[8]

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[4]   A. Kazhdan in collaboration with S. Franklin, 'Theodore Prodromos: a reappraisal', *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge and Paris, 1984), pp. 87–114, esp. 91 (against the earlier to and fro in the dispute): 'One cannot reject Prodromos' authorship merely on ground of taste' and ibid., n. 18 (against the obvious difference in metrical patterns): 'But might one not expect different versification in a different genre?' But later in their book they take a different point of view, as Hörandner, p. 375, brings out.

[5]   [302] I have only the published text in front of me. I am not familiar with the manuscripts.

[6]   The Eideneiers (see n. 2) evidently understand the text of G to be a homogenous work, p. 3 n. 13.

[7]   What I have tried to show, in what follows, concerning the first poem should also be investigated in the fourth, i.e., first carefully analyse the individual parts and then discuss literary-historical and aesthetic issues. To give a few indications about the fourth poem:

In verses 227–257 the hungry poet finds a butcher's wife who at first pretends to feed him, then with similar words clips him around the ears with a piece of pork belly. This kind of almost dramatic humour à la Karagöz with surprisingly many scatological elements (verse 251: σύσκατον; verse 252: κοπροπαραγέμιστον; verse 255: ἐντεροχορδοπλύτα) clearly distinguishes this section from the rest of the poem. The poet betrays himself as a crude poetaster when he lets the butcher's wife finally say it would be even better if the γραμματικός gobbled his ink the same way as he does this shitty bacon (τὴν σκατωτὴν λαπάραν) (so what?) with which she is hitting him. Really? Or, does she not actually mean the 'good' bacon (there!) that she originally put on the plate before him. Possibly this sentence has been 'scatologically' reworked and so has lost any refined sense of humour. Certainly the preceding section, verses 211–224, shows an entirely different sense of humour, though Hesseling and Pernot ascribe it to the same interpolator. The poet establishes that poetry does not keep him full. 'Well,' someone says to him, 'get busy with Oppian and you will not have to fear hunger anymore'. While they [303] actually mean that he should learn to fish (Ἁλιευτικά) or to hunt (Κυνηγητικά) to survive, he takes the corresponding words to refer to poetry and... still remains hungry. This section is also corrupt in many places but it undoubtedly shows a different, more intellectual sense of humour, so that one can scarcely ascribe both to the same author. And certainly neither belong to the main author of poem IV. His text ends at verse 129, after which a conclusion probably existed, which is now lost. That makes verse 128f. the climax. In self-deprecation

In this context it appears significant that in dealing with all these research results people no longer even take the trouble of looking at the literary analysis in the introduction to the often criticised edition by Hesseling and Pernot or the notes on the poems, although one can gather a lot of information from these. They contain many references to interpolations, to varying levels of narrative and so on.

In the metrical analysis mentioned, the conclusion emerges that poems I and III belong to the same poet or mathematically speaking the probability is, 71.5:28.5.[9] But do they actually belong to one and the same poet? I do not want to raise the old question about the 'Εἷς καὶ μόνος Πρόδρομος'[10] but to indicate that the kind of humour found in poem I mainly reflects the context, whereas in poem III long, often pretty primitive lists supply the humour. This scarcely speaks in favour of one poet.[11]

Before solving all these questions in a more or less indiscriminate way – are Prodromos and Ptochoprodromos [277] identical or not? Which poems belong to the Ptochoprodromos? – one should first seek a clear understanding of what is actually available, what traditional methods of philological and literary analysis provide in the way of results, what distinctions can be drawn, and many other questions. It certainly is high time to look at the text again through the eyes of Hesseling and Pernot and to take into regard their remarks at the same time.

The decision to deal with the first poem was mere chance,[11a] but justified,

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the poet says, 'If I know what is what, I am a lucky dog, really. I would have learned a trade and been hungry anyway.' Hesseling and Pernot think these verses are suspect. But they make sense on their own and there might be a lacuna previously. Certainly the following (verses 130–140) detract from the climax and in addition the poet presents himself as a priest, meaning a teacher in a priest's position. Everything indicates that poem IV does not have just one author. See the postscript on p. 103 below.

[8]   If that is the premise, then a statistical comparison of Goethe and Schiller would probably give Hölderlin as the result.

[9]   The Eideneiers (n. 2), p. 7, qualify this assurance and explain that their work is only one part of the puzzle. Let it nevertheless be noted that Prodromos cannot be the author.

[10]   So runs the title of the famous essay of A. Papadopulos-Kerameus in *Letopis istoriko-filologicheskago obshchestva pri Novorossiiskom Universitete Odessa*, VII, Vizant. Otd. 4 (1899), pp. 387–402.

[11]   Granted, even Shakespeare may have written bad plays. But that means philology is all washed up.

[11a] The complicated circumstances of transmission via only one manuscript could be better presented in this way and this consideration also played a part.

by the fact that it was analysed with special intensity in the confines of an undergraduate course, amid undamaged, start-of-the-semester optimism about solving problems.[12] The following remarks should not be taken as more than they pretend to be – that is, as observations about a text. A systematic treatment of the whole poem in the form of a commentary on all questions is not intended.

Title: The opinions that Hesseling and Pernot express with regard to Μαυροϊωάννην – that this description must have been disagreeable to the emperor and that it proves that the author is scarcely one of the serious *literati* – only establishes what they themselves have noticed, (p. 11) which is that manuscript G is pretty far removed from the author but probably goes back to a good source. Hence the name of the emperor need not in any way have to stem from the author himself, even when it is found in the prototype. Nor does it have to be mentioned by him in the case of a recital in the emperor's presence. It is surely a later addition of the author's or of an editor's and does not mean that the poem was recited with any title or in particular with this title. Only it would be important [278] to know how authoritative the statement is, or in other words, how sure the author of the head-note was that the poem had been recited in front of John Komnenos. The following observations prove that it was in fact recited.

Verse 1f.: To rescue the syntax, W. Wagner (in Legrand[13]) reads προσοίσων. Yet this is unnecessary if one punctuates verses one and four as successive questions.

Hesseling and Pernot remark, 'deux fois le même verbe. Ce début est bien gauche.' Agreed. If so, one assumes a purpose on the author's part, that is, parody of bad poetry in classicizing language. People have long noticed that the classicizing parts of the Ptochoprodromos are not 'good'.[14] But under the assumption of a parody these passages would improve. This apparently inferior literary quality also forms the word ὁποίανδε, falsely formed by analogy to ὅδε (verse 2. Does this word simply mean 'which?'). So also the postponed word παντοίας in verse 4.

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[12] Among the participants, Kiki Nasiula and Veronika Quack have given special help thanks to their good observations.

[13] E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque greque vulgaire* (Paris, 1880) 1, Poem 1, on pp. 38–47.

[14] Explaining the poems as youthful works is a similar approach. Yet that would mean that with advancing age one writes less preposterous nonsense and the *Ptochoprodromika* would have to be assigned to the author in the first class of High School.

Verse 5: Hesseling and Pernot call the verse *maladroit*. Here we find a repetition of the same thought with similar words that quite obviously are contradictory: πρό τινος ἤδη πρὸ καιροῦ, that is 'a while before' and πρὸ βραχέος χρόνου, that is 'shortly'. Something like this at best suits a rhetorician who out of sheer pomposity no longer knows what he writes. But I am certainly not sure whether the comic effect I assume in this instance also was felt to be one in the Byzantine Middle Ages. So an authoritative interpretation of this verse must remain open, at least until further evidence appears (see below, on verse 206 too).

[279] But in any case one must wonder whether πρό τινος ἤδη πρὸ καιροῦ is the correct reading.

Verses 1–17: The train of thought causes problems. He does not know what he should present to the emperor as gift in return for the emperor's kindnesses he received a short time ago: he had nothing that could correspond to the emperor's κράτος other than... Now the πάλιν in verse 9 is surprising. Once more he has only political verses,[15] probably humorous ones (verse 10). Should we therefore position a lacuna after verse 8 and assume that in the lacuna the subject was verses as reciprocal gifts and that he once more has only verses, but this time humorous ones? Does this suggest that the author has also worked as a serious court poet? Thinking of another poem (written in the popular language), Hesseling and Pernot also decide that the poet had brought presents to the emperor earlier. See their comments on verses 5–12. Yet this interpretation does not carry weight, since the τους of verses 12 and 13 refers to the verses of verse 9 and indicates the poem which he is now presenting as a gift (by reciting it). The πάλιν and the concluding expression of thanks also make a lacuna after verse 8 likely. Yet there is a possible solution that is fundamentally different, which will be explained only in the course of this study.

Verse 11: The proverb is found only in Theodore Prodromos[16] and so naturally it is not impossible that the poet is young. For the purpose of the recitation he presents himself as being gray-haired.

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[15]   For the word ἀμέτρους see Maria Jagoda Luzzato, 'La Datazione della Collectio Augustana di Esopo ed il verso politico delle origini', *Jahr. Österr. Byz.* 33 (1983), pp. 137–77, esp. pp. 157–59 and notes 108, 113, and 116. For the name of the verse, see my, 'Die kaiserliche Universität von Constantinopel', *Byz. Arch.* 14 (1974), p. 58 n. 13.

[16]   W. Hörandner, 'Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte', *Wien. Byz. Stud.* 11 (1974), p. 488 on poem 59.257.

Verse 14: γράφω shows that the poet has written the poem[17] and ἄκουσον then refers to a public recitation. Together, they do [280] not exclude the possibility of a recitation 'from the text'. The poem certainly gains liveliness from a public recitation with appropriate gestures. It had value only when (for example) it was recited 'pour amuser le souverain' at a royal dinner party.[18]

Verse 17: This joke, too, only becomes meaningful with an appropriate gesture at a recitation.[19]

Verse 18: Concerning the peculiarity of these verses, which can only be addressed later, let me now make this observation: in poem I there are passages that more or less consist of lists or catalogues. That is also the case with the πάθη from which the poet does *not* suffer. These facts make the verses suspicious. But on top of this come several inconsistencies like κερατᾶν (verse 20 – is that supposed to mean an illness?) or the probably identical περιφλεγμονία and παραπνευμονία (verses 21f., each at the end of a verse), to which one can not attribute any sense even when one regards one as the scholion for the other.[20] This looks to me like a case of bad poetry with a literary model barely decipherable (see the following).

The following is also relevant: in the course of our study it will appear that in the second part of the poem everything is handled differently, except the poet's 'evil' wife. This evil wife is a misunderstanding by the very same poet who has written most of the first part. When these verses take the form of a climax and lead the reader to see that the πάθος of the poet is his 'evil' wife, that is a further indication that these verses are the work of the poet of the first part. But that does not mean that even the very humorous verses 16 and 17 are by the same poet: [281] the sickness and the pain from which the poet is suffering, because of which he asks the emperor not to take his laughter and play at face value, can naturally also be something entirely different. For example, the inability to earn a living (self-deprecating irony like this is to displayed later).

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[17]   [305] Also in verse 115. See my remarks on verse 28 as well.

[18]   A. Koraes as cited in Hesseling and Pernot, p. 8.

[19]   For gestures of sorrow, see H. Maguire, 'The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art', *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 31 (1977), pp. 123–74.

[20]   H. Eideneier, 'Zu den Προδρομικά', *Byz. Zeitschr.* 57 (1964), pp. 329–37 seriously believes that κερατᾶν means 'put on horns' (p. 329f., insinuating that the wife is not only wicked but...) and explains at p. 330 that the two words occur in formal and popular speech respectively. (But this means that no Byzantine could convey the meaning, even if he had mastered only one of the two kinds of language).

Unfortunately it is no longer possible to clarify which verses of the transmitted foreword belong to the original foreword.

Verses 24f.: Hesseling and Pernot have already noticed that προβάλλουσα (verse 24) does not agree with γυναικός (verse 23) and that verse 25 should not be construed in connection with it. Yet each of the two verses seen separately is quite comprehensible without any other context:

Verse 24: She brings forward problems and excuses (for example, to avoid having to help me).

Verse 25: And though apparently reasonable (τὸ δοκεῖν εὐλόγως) she presents herself to me in a way that shows how one can handle wealth, how one can control it.[21]

Since at verse 26 an entirely new train of thought begins (I would like to tell you about the wickedness of my wife, but I am afraid to do so), but since on the other hand verse 23 must already have mentioned some negative qualities of the wife, one should assume that verses 24 and 25 are remains of this presentation. Otherwise the new thought at verse 26 would come too abruptly. I might suggest that the prototype of the manuscript was barely readable at this point.[22] Whether this text is G or its prototype, the copyist wrote what was still readable, i.e., verses 24 and 25, but they had nothing to do with one another and also had no connection with verses 23 or 26. But as fragments they suit [282] the overwhelmingly negative description of the woman. Since they are in fact meaningless, they surely are not interpolated – no interpolator does anything like this.

πιθανολογίας is still surprising, a word for which verse 119 (next to ἀλήθεια) offers a better meaning than it has here, where it must mean something like 'excuses' used as pretext. Should one exclude the possibility that the copyist had trouble reading the text in this spot, skimmed the whole poem first and then, with the help of verse 119, filled in the still readable remains of verse 24?

All these considerations about the introduction allow one to suggest that one

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[21] πλουτάρχως can be, if at all, understood in a humorous way: I (the wife) show you what you never will learn, i.e. how to handle money. Yet this interpretation is very far-fetched. It seems to me obvious to assume a crude replacement of something hardly legible, as I will explain soon.

[22] For those who have read my book on Artabasdos, this looks like a hobbyhorse of mine. But it helps explain a few things.

can perhaps discern three layers. One looks 'genuine' and in my opinion consists of verses 9–17. A second has so to speak rescued fragments of the original; that is how I would interpret verses 24 and 25. And, finally, really bad verses like 18–23, where one can in any case certainly see that they were written to replace other (unreadable?) verses. Further investigation will bring more clarity to these so far unproven suggestions.

Verse 28: In connection with verse 32 (τῶν ἄρτι γραφομένων) this verse again raises the possibility that emerged in verse 14, that the poem was not recited by heart but so to speak 'from a script'.

Verses 35–39: These verses are interpolated. In verses 24–34 the poet explains that he wants to portray the wickedness of his wife, but worries that people could betray him. He would rather be buried alive of his own free will than let her anger come to fruition. The logical continuation of the thought would be that he wants to venture the idea anyway, probably with hope of support from the emperor. [283] What is found in verse 35 instead is completely unsuitable: If she often has fits and bad moods[23] and has her servants[24] throw me in the street, who then will pity me and rescue me from her?

In fact, a description of the wife's wickedness could well begin with her 'unmotivated outbursts', but then εἰ δέ is entirely unsuitable. But this indicates that the interpolator has only paid attention to verse 33f. (I actually worry about her) from among the preceding lines of text and has placed before it something even weaker (εἰ δέ).[25]

But if one recognizes that verses 35–39 are interpolated, verses 33f. will also be dubious. Only the ὀργή and the ἀπειλαί make sense on the basis of the poet's worrying about his wife before making his declaration to her; her στόμα and ἀποστροφή much less. He might certainly be worried about those, but the result would scarcely be that she learned something about his lecture.

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[23]   καρατζᾶς means 'bad mood' rather than κακό πνεῦμα· κακία (τοῦ ανθρώπου) as assumed by E. Kriaras, Λεξικό της Μεσ. Ελλ. Δημ. Γραμμ. 7 (1980) s.v. [306] Eideneier, (n. 20), p. 330, suggests 'head' (as ξερό) but that does not make sense here, if, semantically, an extension of 'bad mood' is available.

[24]   τὰ ψυχάρια της; just as if his wife was not poor. Verses 88f. correspond: in these lines the servants admire him, although he is good for nothing. But these people do not know this. In fact, our poet is well off; see at verse 130.

[25]   Here he may possibly have been inspired by the comical aspects of the situation found in the second part, but he remains way below that level.

For the rest, these verses have the character of a 'catalogue' and I will return to them.

Verses 40f.: Hesseling and Pernot have already cast doubt on these verses as botched workmanship. In fact, the poet encourages himself here and wants to portray his situation. The fact that in verse 42 τὴν ταύτης μοχθηρίαν is repeated from verse 26 indicates that here we are still within the confines of the interpolation.

Verses 42–112: Finally comes the account of the wickedness of the wife. But what actually follows is (from verse 44 on) the enumeration of the woman's speeches, more or less humourless, and which belong in the realm of the cliches of the discontented wife, the 'γκρινιάρα'. [284] One must even suppose that all her attacks do not really mean that the 'poor poet' had the chance to get hold of jewellery and dresses and does so too. From today's point of view, one could even interpret the woman's words as the legitimate outbursts of an oppressed wife whose husband is a typical parasite.[26]

This does not start off without inconsistencies. Verses 58–61: The clothing that you gave me does not help me in my distress. Such inconsistencies may naturally be explained by saying that here the 'ingratitude' and 'illogic' of the wife are supposed to be stigmatised. Yet this puts everything on a very low level.

Good witticisms are incidentally watered down this way. Verse 94, ἔχεις με κουρατόρισσαν, ἔχεις με ἀναπλαρέαν,[27] loses all humour so to speak, as it is followed by the further list of titles in verses 95–99.[28]

Really good humour is rare. Take verses 68–70 for example: she takes him to task for his humbler ancestry, saying he was a ματζουκᾶτος[29] while she is a Ματζουκίνη.[30]

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[26] E.g., verses 75–87: he lets the house become dilapidated.

[27] Eideneier, (above n. 20), p. 331, taken over by Kriaras (above n. 23) s.v., but not quite understood, interprets ἀναπλαρέα as woollen blankets for the bed. Yet the idea 'The wife is good for work and for bed' is too modern and too 'erotic with its arrière-pensées' (see also n. 20). A synonym for κουρατόρισσα that one can only conjecture (e.g. ἀναγραφέα) hides behind the word.

[28] Hesseling and Pernot call these 'bien étonnantes'.

[29] What exactly ματζουκᾶτος means escapes me – a porter in a timber port? Only more information on the subject would make the joke understandable.

[30] Her calling him Πτωχοπρόδρομος here means nothing as far as genuineness is concerned.

For the present there is no word about whether this difference in niveau could prove anything. One need not implicitly assume that one one person has written the whole of the wife's speech.[31]

Here, too, some passages suggest speculation about interpolation: verse 84: At verse 81 the subject was already doors. Here the expected climax is interrupted. Verse 93: The matter of the clothing is already dealt with in verses 58–61.

The whole speech never breaks away from a bad aftertaste that one [285] commonly has while reading Byzantine poetry.[32]

These lengthy complaints are overly detailed. Their humour at best consists of enumerations of 'funny' words[33] that make this speech so long-winded yet link it to the identically structured poem III. As a result, I might have assumed that the same mentality was at work, if not the very same author. A metrical-statistical analysis could probably support this assumption but one basically knows that already anyway.

Verses 113f.: But now everything becomes stranger. The poet in fact asserts that he has explained a few things (τινα) in brief (ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ). But in fact he has gone to some length to explain *one* thing. This is because verse 113 is modelled on verse 198 (ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τοιγαροῦν ταῦτα μοι προσειποῦσα – here everything makes sense when taken together). It is once again a patch-verse that is used to introduce what follows.

Verses 115f.: Here is another point where real humour appears instead of 'funny' words. With literary playfulness the poet so to speak turns himself into a 'host' of heroes and turns his sorrows into a ἡρώων κατάλογος. The fact that in the first part of the poem the humour is at a somewhat higher level hardly justifies the judgement made by Hesseling and Pernot on the second part.[34] There is no need to prove any further that the two parts of the poem are

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[31] [307] Hesseling and Pernot (on verse 104) remark that this verse is similar to verse 66, which indicates a more widespread corruption.

[32] Yet this does not mean that the passage is not important for the study of material culture. One concludes (from verse 84) that even doors wear out and generally must be replaced. Such doors no longer exist not even in the Balkans. Therefore, this note.

[33] This is even worse than the listing of diseases in verses 18–22, but this list leads back to the most serious disease, the wife, even if this was not intended by the original poet.

[34] Commenting on verses 113–122: '…la seconde partie du poème, celle que nous considerons la plus mauvaise des deux'.

extremely different from one another. But I hope to be able to show in the following remarks that the second part is the more original one, [286] to which the first was added for reasons that still need to be explained.

Verse 119: According to Hesseling and Pernot this incomprehensible verse requires a negative: everything that I say is true and if it is not true, I myself will call it gossip and fairytales. Thus: κἂν οὐκ ἀλήθειαν ἔχωσι...

Verse 123: This verse furnishes the key for the analysis. According to Hesseling and Pernot it could follow verse 112 (le vers 123 ferait bien suite au vers 112), but there are such great differences in tone and style that one must ask whether one has not already entered the second part of the poem. Not quite consistent with these remarks, they let the second part of the text begin after verse 112 (as indicated by a big gap in the text). Apart from the question of the beginning of the second part of the poem, one must be even more radical in interpreting verse 123. It does not continue from anything preceding, nor does it respond to anything which was talked about before: Ἡ δὲ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μου μὴ καταδεχομένη. Before this he has not answered so that his wife cannot now not accept his answers. The solution naturally should not be that this is still possible – especially in popular folk poetry (how stupid and absentminded do we think the Byzantines are?). This is impossible.

Furthermore: verse 114 does not seem sensible, because following verse 124 many 'bad deeds' are listed, if one wishes to call them that from now on.

I can already hear the criticism that I am trying to improve the poet [287] whereas in the situation of a manuscript tradition it is only allowed or makes sense to interpret the transmitted text. But this reproach amounts to an improvement of the poet only if the poet was a psychopathic airhead. But he was not, as the uncorrupted passages of the second part indicate. Nonetheless I would like to offer a proposal for solving all the problems of poem I.

The first requirement for a solution is the assumption that the entire complex of verses 33–116 has nothing to do with the original poem but was assembled later, possibly in several layers, as has been explained. Since in many places the proem already looks as if it has nothing to do with the actual author, one may demonstrate quite probably that the preceding complex is a later addition.

The complex hangs on the thought that the poet is worried his wife might be able to find out something. One cannot say whether this thought was introduced secondarily or whether the same poet merely linked one thought to another by association. The complex is supported by the necessity which becomes obvious whilst reading the text, namely that verse 123 requires a

preface. The fact that the complex sounds untrue due to its contradiction by verse 123 is bad luck for its author.

The exchange between the poet and his wife must originally have been placed at the beginning of the complex, so that verse 123 becomes its continuation. Before this, the narrative was interrupted by the fictive objection of a listener and which the poet answers with verse 117–21, saying that what he has already said [288] suffices and that he himself vouches for the truth of it. In the introduction to the analysis of the following, second part I should now say that what he has already recounted, τὰ λεγόμενα, is not the wickedness of his wife but only experiences that he owes to himself and that only the emperor perhaps can help him with. The second part is not, as one has always assumed on the basis of the first part, a satire on the 'evil' woman, but a largely self-ironic 'begging poem' to the emperor.[35] The woman is therefore only a means to explain indirectly to the emperor what kind of responsibility the emperor brings upon himself if he does not adequately support the poet. This basic idea of the second part, which will later become even clearer, was misunderstood by the author of the first part – one should not call it a satire, however – and misinterpreted as being 'abuse' of the woman.

After he swears that it is the truth, it is followed by verse 122 (ἔχουσι γάρ τινα ῥητὰ πικρίας πεπλησμένα), which like verses 24 and 25 again is comprehensible on its own (if one takes the subject to be 'books' for example). But in its context can be interpreted only with difficulty, even if one assumes that the λεγόμενα which have to be regarded as the subject, offer a chance to understand the verse due to their content.

A genuinely connected story begins only with verse 123, and in the case of this story analysis will show that hardly any contradictions and inconsistencies can be found, and that independently of quality[36] there are also present other traditional narrative features than the patterns just described in the first part.

Yet for all these reasons one can come to the conclusion that the first part is something like *membra disiecta* [289] of the original first part of the poem. On the assumption that the manuscript of the first part was completely ruined, it

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[35] Considering the sense of self-irony, verses 115f. might also be attributed to the poet of the second part: his experiences make him like all the Homeric heroes! The precise starting-point of the second part can no longer be found in the text we have.

[36] Apart from this, high quality in the best tradition of the *Vita of Philaretos* or Aesop is evident. This tradition, of which little is traceable in Byzantium, remains to be explored.

might have happened like this: someone tried to read this part and probably could still decipher a few verses, yet for the most part quite simply went back and set about writing the poem again. He probably had the best of intentions of recreating the original poem faithfully, but what he actually did was to distort the meaning completely. One can no longer specifically say which verses of the first part still derive from the original, since this part was also widely changed by interpolations also. It seems highly unlikely to me that there is a chance to overcome all this confusion. Yet in advance of further conclusions the second part ought to receive attention first.

Verses 126f.: Hesseling and Pernot note the similarity with verses 180f. This means that the text is probably not completely in order in this part either. At any rate, similar situations occur here.

Verse 128: The associative link is typical for a kind of 'naive' narrative style that the poet imitates here. Only in the second part is the emperor addressed again; cf. verses 156, 178, 234.

Verse 129: ὅταν ἐστράφην σάβουρος ἀπ' ὧδε παρ' ἐλπίδα. Hesseling and Pernot explain almost mischievously that because of ἀπ' ὧδε one could believe that the poet was in the palace when he composed the poem. In fact this verse ('when I came home against all expectations with empty pockets') provides the unequivocal proof that the poem was composed for recitation in the imperial palace. [290] Whether it really had been recited cannot of course be proven without further evidence, so I must leave this question to each reader's judgement. By the words παρ' ἐλπίδα the poet means that he is a good – meaning tactful – beggar-poet. He does not once ask for money outright, he just tells his tale, how he once had to go home from the palace – against all expectations – without any money. Reading the confession of the *Archipoeta* is thoroughly recommended for those who are not familiar with the concept of 'begging poetry', in order to enlighten them.

Verse 130: The 'beggar-poet' is of course not poor.

Verses 132–36: This, too, is a catalogue and one can decide whether verses 133–36 could be scrapped. Nevertheless, this catalogue does not only contain a verbal scalding. More importantly it indirectly refers to the emperor again: If I had such an entourage – and I have already deserved it – all this would not have happened to me.

Verse 138: Hesseling and Pernot do not understand νηστικός ἀπὸ τὸ

φιλοπότιν, but it means that he has indulged in drink and has not eaten – also no μεζέδες. So now he is hungry. The really good satirist includes himself: he was drunk.

Verse 139: Here the double meaning becomes perfect. He does not want to conceal his part of the blame from the emperor, he could be condemned for it. In fact he obtains a verdict of 'not guilty' and with it understanding of his needs (including the financial ones).

[291] Verse 140: He is allowed to have a bad temper (ἐμελαγχόλησα) and even to insult his wife (ἠγριολάλησά την). And again a hint for the emperor: it must never happen to me again, that I come home drunk like this (and with no money).

Verses 142–54: Possibly the wife's speech gave the poet of part I the idea of writing a long speech for the wife in that part. Yet the poet at work here knows something about psychology. So his wife says to him, verse 142: Βλέπε, τίνα δέρεις. Although the poet has previously has only spoken of bad temper and insults, here he admits that in the house of Ptochoprodromos physical abuse also occurs. If Hesseling and Pernot interpret this verse by saying that previously it has not been a question of blows and thus assume a *corruptela*, they misunderstand the humour of the passage. This verse does not mean that the wife is going to be beaten. The claim that he punishes her with beatings suffices. When a real beating occurs, he comes off worst, and he knows it (verses 156f.).

Verses 145–47: Here the wife no longer seems to be speaking to him. Instead she pities herself – if the whole thing took place on stage, one would call it a dramatic aside.

Verse 145: πῶς ἥπλωσας ἐπάνω μου probably has nothing to do with beating since he does not beat her. One either assumes – in spite of verse 162, q. v. – a figurative meaning (Like 'How did you spread out at my expense?') or the verse is corrupt.

[292] Verses 148–54: These verses again look like badly deciphered parts of the original. Of course verse 155 could have followed right after verse 147, with another interpolation here. Yet there are no apparent grounds for this and the assumption of an interpolation cannot explain the absolute nonsense of these verses. Besides, if one assumes these verses are no longer entirely based on the readable verses of the original, the speeches of the wife (verses 142–54)

and the husband (verses 158–171) are of equal length, namely, 14 lines. I certainly have not succeeded in reconstructing a meaningful content for these verses. The only thing that seems sure is the punishment of the wife: if my brothers learn of this and help me, it is all over with you and you will be thrown out.

Verses 158–71: The speech of the husband is a masterpiece of satirical poetry. The husband mocks himself to a degree seldom found in literature. As a true man he would finally have to beat his wife. Yet he is afraid of doing it. So he summons up the courage to bear her abuse because if he hit her, she might kill him, since he is old, small, and weak. The final two of the three negative attributes point towards his 'intellectual' profession as a poet, whereas the first one perhaps links the second part of the poem with the first one.[37]

Nevertheless he is convinced that he cannot simply take everything without reacting and therefore comes up with the idea – this is the climax of his self-deprecatory irony – of conducting a mock battle. The description of this intended mock battle, along with its conclusion of 'Cock your hat to one side and roar like a lion', belongs with the [293] best comic narrative literature in Byzantium[38] and one must ask what tradition is here at work.

Verse 158: He addresses himself as Πρόδρομε. That is different from verse 70 above (see that passage). This difference could indicate, however, that Πρόδρομος turned into Πτωχοπρόδρομος only over time and in the usage of others.

Verse 162: As in verse 145 (see that passage), this either means 'to beat' (yet in this passage that would be an anticlimax, since only afterwards does the wife pull him towards her) or is another case of figurative meaning: she overpowers him.

Verses 172–174: The self-irony goes further: instead of a stick or a proper club he finds only a broomstick. Some things retain their ridiculous effect over the centuries: the typical woman's household tool as a weapon in the hand of the husband. In recent times Byzantine studies have also discovered the 'position of women in Byzantium' and it has been dealt with in academic literature. This parody of the 'heroic' man still has to be discovered.

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[37]   See at verse 11. This play upon words could link this verse of the proem to the poet of the second part.
[38]   See n. 36.

Verse 174: The liturgical parody is probably obvious.

Verses 175–177: It has often been assumed that Byzantium was not as pious as it prided itself to be. Here is some evidence: The prayer in this ridiculous situation is very daring and why should one not assume that the patriarch [294] was also a guest, at the supposed dinner party where the poem was recited. But it certainly becomes blasphemous, as it is framed by Mary and Christ at the beginning and the devil (παρὰ διαβόλου) at the end. This rhetorical finesse is probably no accident.

Verse 179: The idea of this verse, that the wife now locks away bread and wine, can be abandoned. This idea has been raised and interpolated by the continuation of the story in verse 201, when the poet has nothing to eat. Hesseling and Pernot's interpretation of verses 178–181 have therefore become superfluous. In spite of parallels with earlier verses there is no ground to suppose a continuing corruption here. The main joke is still that the wife decides to let the husband carry on with his 'heroism', while he still fears being beaten by her. She is the cleverer one but on the basis of this and similar passages she is also turned into the 'evil' wife. Yet this does not correspond to the intention of the poet of the second part. He no longer complains about his wife, but 'begs' in a very subtle way, in which he constantly points out to the emperor that only the emperor can prevent the misfortunes of the poet. – Further on the 'feminist' viewpoint of the poem: the hero who makes himself ridiculous is an old motif, which has its origin already in Hellenistic comedy. One can also readily assume that with this parody of the 'hero' the true hero was not targeted; the poet just makes fun of himself for the purpose of 'begging'. But in relation to the image of the woman in Byzantium it is still important that not even these ideas could be accepted. [295] Instead, the notion of the 'evil' woman spreads. This notion may be due to external harm done to the manuscript, but it has not been deconstructed even until today and it reveals our own era's attitude towards women.

Verses 182–189: The sometimes misunderstood 'Battle with the broomstick' lingers on the same level of humour. The poet does not want to gain entrance,[39] but – and this is much more pointed – he beats against the door and then sticks

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[39] [308] H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), p. 101: he once tried to gain access using the broomstick, which he tried to push through the opening in the door.

the broomstick through a hole and pokes around in the room, as if he wished to chase a mouse from its hole or a dog from under a cupboard. That is what a broomstick is for! Then the situation becomes even more ridiculous, because the wife – she is the cleverer one! – first pulls at the broomstick and then lets go a bit, so that he thinks he is the stronger (verse 187). Then the wife lets go of the stick altogether (χαυνίζει) and at the same time opens the door a bit, so that he falls head over heels.

Verses 190–197: Now the woman can warn him he should not overdo it[40] and just forget about his 'surplus' male power (τὴν περισσὴν ἀνδρείαν). Many people miss the survival of ancient theatre in Byzantium. Be that as it may, this would be a scene that no comedy could depict better.

Verses 198–205: The 'hero' naturally regrets nothing and understands nothing: he now waits for a meal and he lies down – where else would he go – on his bed. Only when he becomes increasingly hungry he tries the cupboard. But it is locked. So he lies down again, rolls this way and that while plagued by hunger and waits.

[296] Verses 206–222: Here again self-deprecation and no trace of a satire on the 'evil' wife. When an accident happens to one of his children, everyone runs to the child; the 'loving father' uses the opportunity to fill his stomach. Then he, too, tends to the child. That of course does not help him at all. His wife shuts herself and the children in again.

Verse 206: Here, too, as in verse 174, there is a parody of high-flown language: now that of ceremony or of high literature. It should generally be noted that the poet juggles levels of language from purely vernacular language (like verse 177) to the highest literary style. In the second part certainly no 'mistakes' appear, as in the proem, so that one must thus doubt the interpretation that the proem contains intentional mistakes (see on verses 1f. and 5 above).

Verse 211: This verse also seems to be interpolated. Here the poet reveals himself as someone who loves using words as insults. But this has no place in the present comic situation. Besides, our poet uses elements of vernacular language very well particularly in direct speech.

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[40]   Eideneier, (above, n. 20), p. 332, refers to the numerous interpretations of verse 196 καλοκαίριν ἔν. But why should one not take the expression literally? Be careful: it is summer, it is hot, otherwise you will get heatstroke. This could even be proof for an actual, specific recitation.

Verse 212: The same verse end as in verse 207 (where it works better) gives rise to the possibility that in this passage a verse was also invented due to a barely readable original.

Verses 223f.: Dripping with self-pity (understand: emperor, have pity on me!) the poet discloses that he has to go to bed alone and without supper. Forgotten is the fact that previously when his child had the accident [297] he hastily guzzled up food. This presents no contradiction with what went before, as Hesseling and Pernot suppose (he would now have to be full!), just a deliberate mocking of his selfishness. But indirectly he hereby mocks his 'begging' and again proves himself a master of begging poetry.

Verses 224–229: In these verses another textual corruption seems to come up – at verses 225–229 Hesseling and Pernot saw this too – and one can most easily attribute it to the clumsy invention of verses by the copyist of an already hard-to-read prototype. In particular: in verse 224 χωρὶς δείπνου καὶ σκοτεινά gives the verse the wrong tone; σκοτεινά and παραπονεμένα are colourless, especially after δίχα παραμυθίας. As for ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην in verse 225, he is already lying down anyway! In verse 225 τὴν θύραν τῆς εἰσόδου comes from the next incident (from verse 244 on) when he enters the house from outside. But in the context the meaning is as follows: he goes to sleep with no consolation but awakens much too early (in other words, it is still night) due to extreme hunger, he gets out of bed, sneaks up to the bedroom door and knocks quite gently. Then he whispers as gently as he can: 'Please open the door, my love' and moans in front of the door. Any conjectural reconstruction of this matter surpasses my capacities.

Verses 230–234: As his wife does not hear him of course (and he has not the courage to make a lot of noise) this attempt remains fruitless and he lies down again and goes back to sleep. The words transmitted in verse 234: πρὸς τὸ γεῦμα are accepted by Hesseling and Pernot as meaning 'food'. But they would therefore [298] very gladly set aside verses 202–233. But the meaning of the verses, also demanded by the humour of the situation, is that he no longer finds his way back to bed, but lies down somewhere else. γεῦμα is therefore corrupt or refers to a part of the house. In any case that is where he goes back to sleep.

Verses 235–255: Woken by the smell of food, he waits for someone to call him yet nothing of the sort happens. So he dresses up as a beggar who does not even know Greek (again a glance at the emperor: do not force me to do this again). Yet his children beat him and throw him down the (outer) staircase.

Verse 238 is a superfluous and banal comment on verse 235: μυρωδία.

Verses 256–274: The end of the poem gives evidence of numerous, now unsolvable instances of corruption, as Hesseling and Pernot have already seen (at verses 256–265) and for their part suggest possible remedies. Yet all their adaptations and athetizations do not help with the main trouble, which the editors describe as follows: 'L'épisode se termine bien brusquement et ne montre pas, en somme, l'humeur acariâtre de la femme de Ptochoprodrome.' The whole passage again seems to be an unhappy attempt to amend a corrupt original (for example, verse 258 is modeled on verse 242). As a joke, the man who fills up on scraps would have satisfied the poet by now. But one can be sure that after everything that has happened, the original story had a pointed ending. If one assumes that the prototype was in very poor condition [299] and showed signs of possible textual damage at the end, one cannot prove whether the reconstructed end represents the actual extent of the original conclusion.

Verses 268–274: In contrast to the introduction, where one at least need not reject certain parts as spurious, this conclusion looks as though it was simply tacked on afterwards: verse 269 comes from the introduction (verse 23). Verses 270f.: The man who completed the epilogue has somehow understood what it is about. It need not be the case that all the additions must have come from one and the same source. The 'supplementor' of both these verses has understood more than the one who only put the 'evil' woman at the centre. (See also p. 95 above.) Verses 273f.: φωνευθῶ πρὸ ὥρας on the other hand points more towards the typical exaggeration of the supplement-poet.

Finally, the author of the epilogue has done poor job in so far as he has not taken notice of the main theme of the prologue, i.e., that verses were offered as a gift to the emperor. I say this assuming that the prologue, whether genuine or not or in between, came long before this author's time.

All in all, the condition of the text of the first poem surely seems to indicate not-normal transmission and requires another explanation.[41] After everything

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[41] But not the possibility that H. Eideneier, 'Leser – oder Hörer – Kreis? Zur byzantinischen Dichtung in der Volkssprache', Ἑλληνικά 34 (1982–83), pp. 119–50, suggests for the *Ptochoprodromika* too. The poor condition of the text is explained by the fact that the *Prochoprodromika* had for a time formed part of the oral tradition (strictly speaking, philologically, in the rain!) and therefore would also have been distorted by the resulting transcription by ear. I do not want to exclude that such transcriptions antedating Kodály and Bartók did exist, but I absolutely disagree that the poem by the poet of the

that has emerged in the course of our investigation, one can hypothetically say that a copy of the poem – was it ever published? or was there only the copy from which the poet recited? – was discovered at a later time in a very poor [300] condition, and that a second poet saw fit to write entire new passages but in other places chose to leave unchanged what he read or believed he read. Finally, one or more persons made further interpolations in this text. Even if all these layers scarcely surface any more, one complex can be clearly distinguished from the rest. It consists of everything that one can call the second part according to Hesseling and Pernot, although even here interpolations and misplaced verses crop up.

This second part was written by a good observer and psychologist. This poet had a delicate sense of humour which he cleverly applied to comic situations, renouncing the grosser forms of abuse and leaving himself open to ridicule by using pointed irony. Another distinguishing trait is how he tries to explain his 'begging' in this roundabout way. This poet's poem was recited at the imperial court or at least was composed for this purpose. Yet the poet calls himself Πρόδρομος. So this again raises the question, in the words of Hesseling and Pernot to be sure: Y a-t-il, dans ces quatre poèmes, un léger fond, quelques passages émanant directement de lui?[42]

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second part ever formed part of 'an oral tradition', because the poet himself never once recited it by heart and I cannot in any case imagine any annual fair or holiday which a travelling singer could have appeared with this poem. One should not rule out poems like the *Erotokritos* commonly turning into orally transmitted epics. But do we know of even one case where the text transmitted in this way proffers the same nonsense as our poem, or were these orally performed poems actually written down after the recitation? [309] Eideneier apparently sees the difficulty and says (p. 139): 'It is thus wholly conceivable that poem I of *Ptochoprodromos* was perhaps written by a learned author in the style of "begging poetry" preserved through oral transmission...' But who is actually begging for what? Eideneier goes on, 'without this poem having had a model or this also having later passed into oral tradition.' Also (p. 140): 'Poem I could come very close to the original. It evidently was not admitted into the oral tradition.'

[42] P. 22.

Addendum to n. 7: The ἐντεροχορδοπλύτα of verse 5 is reminiscent of the poem of Konst. Rhod. against Leo Choirosphaktes (P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* 2 [Rome, 1857], p. 264): ἀλλαντοχορδοκοιλιεντεροπλύτα. If this is a conscious allusion, the poet of verses 227–257 would have had a literary education (though his passage remains far too 'scatologically' reworked). But even in this case, he needs to be separated from the previous poet.

Artabasdos, Boniface
and the Three Pallia

Artabasdos, Bonifatius und die drei Pallia

[179] Artabasdos and Boniface have only one thing in common, namely that documents connected to the one are dated according to the other. To put it the other way round, each discrepancy in the dating of Artabasdos and each change in his dates affects the chronology of Boniface. All this is not new and the proposed solutions for the undoubtedly existing inconsistencies can hardly be overlooked.[1]

I have also recently dealt with the revolt of Artabasdos,[2] mainly with its beginning: 18 June 741 right after the death of Leo III.[3] The end of Artabasdos'

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[1]   K.U. Jäschke, 'Die Gründungszeit der mitteldeutschen Bistümer und das Jahr des *Concilium Germanicum*', in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger II*, ed. H. Beumann (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen 74.2; Cologne and Vienna, 1974), pp. 71–136, at 71–73, presents a list of the literature on the question of dates in the period in question. For the dating of Artabasdos, see n. 2 below.

[2]   *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren. Untersuchungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos und ihrer Darstellung in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2; Bonn, 1981), hereafter *Artabasdos*.

[3]   Even the otherwise critical reviewers accepted this starting point, like Ilse Rochow, *Byzantinoslavica* 44 (1983), pp. 216–221, at p. 219. – P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* 2 (Commentary) (Vienna, 1977), p. 85f. had already supported the summer of 741. Concurring with him was W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich* 1 (Vienna, 1978), p. 269, n. 3. Neither one discussed the western documents. The difficulties appear to be so enormous that even scholars like Ph. Grierson gave up: *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* III, 1. (Dumbarton Oaks, 1977), p. 284 (with n. 1): the revolt is dated to the summer of 742, yet with 'much hesitation', especially because of the western documents. – Though not at the time of the publication of *Artabasdos*, I now believe that the seal no. 137 in Seibt, *ibid.*, (Artabasdos Patrikios) nevertheless belongs to the usurper Artabasdos and indeed to the period before 717; the paleographical dates do not rule out the second decade of the eighth century. This seal ought to have been included in Appendix I of *Artabasdos*, p. 153f.

reign on 2 November, 743 is uncontroversial.[4]

Among other documents, two of Pope Zacharias' letters to Boniface depend on establishing the reign of Artabasdos. These customarily are dated 22 June and 5 November 744,[5] [180] specifically referring to the year of Artabasdos' reign as quoted in the dating formula.[6] Not all the details in the dating formula in these letters are conclusive;[7] one must have recourse to conjecture.[8] I have suggested the year 743 for these letters.[9] Decisive was the idea that it was impossible for Rome to carry on using dates referring to the expelled usurper for a period of more than a year after the arrival of Constantine V in Constantinople. This would have been such an insult to the emperor and political stupidity, of which one should not consider a (Greek!) pope capable.

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[4] D. Jasper, *Deutsches Archiv* 39 (1983), p. 660, speaks (in a review of *Artabasdos*) about the end of Artabasdos' reign in 743/44; yet so vague a date only cloaks the real problems.

[5] Letters 57 and 58, hereafter cited according to *MGH Epp. sel. 1, Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl (Berlin, 1916); also *MGH Epp. III* (Epp. Merovingici et Karolini Aevi I), (Berlin, 1892), VI: S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae, ed. E. Dümmler.

[6] Until now the authority on the dating of both letters was M. Tangl, *Studien zur Neuausgabe der Bonifatius-Briefe*, I. Teil, *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 40 (1916), pp. 639–830 (hereafter *Studien*), at pp. 772–82. For more recent literature on this question, see *Artabasdos*, p. 344 n. 414.

[7] With these letters, among others, Jäschke (see n. 1 above), p. 104 (with n. 219), comments on the 'repeated inconsistent dating in Papal letters of the period'. Yet one should only make such assumptions if one can prove that the Roman chancellery had actually stopped overseeing matters. Mistakes due to transmission are a priori more probable.

[8] Even if one dates the letter to the year 744! – Jasper (as n. 4 above) who advocates the traditional date, in this connection mentions 'conjectures that are justified by no textual witnesses'. But conjectures do have this trait, cf. P. Maas, *Textkritik* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1960), p. 10. Jasper evidently means the so-called 'forced' conjectures that Rochow (as n. 3 above), p. 217, chalked up against me. Still, one should not confuse conjecturing with breaking in an animal, even if it is a common wording. H. Hahn, for example, used this cliché against Pagi in the *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1863), p. 163. In evaluating a conjecture there are only the criteria 'right' and 'wrong,' just as in the case of Maas' important warning concerning divinatio, *op. cit.*, p. 32, that an editor (and this goes for a reviewer, too) when he wants to reject a conjecture ought to consider whether he feels he would be capable of recognising the conjecture as corrupt if it were the transmitted text.

[9] *Artabasdos*, pp. 124–27. In order not to repeat myself, I will not re-introduce the argument I advanced there, although I know that (Jasper as n. 4 above) 'the train of thought in the book is unclear' and generally speaking 'reading it is agony'. For reasons that I give in *Artabasdos*, p. 344 n. 414, I neglect to introduce much older and more recent literature.

In the fourth decade of the eighth century this would not even work with the label 'iconoclasm,' which usually so opportunely 'solves' all problems.

In this redating I have excluded problems that relate to Boniface,[10] but only in the presentation. To draw broader conclusions from this is inappropriate.[11]

[181] In any case, the redating of letters 57 and 58 was not only strongly attacked but regarded as 'plainly wrong,' since in letter 57 'there is reference to the events of the council of Soissons in 744 (auf die Ereignisse der Synode von Soissons eingegangen wird).'[12] If only that were so obvious![13] In fact, there is no allusion to the council of Soissons in either of the two letters. Quite the opposite seems to be true: the letters, which instead addressed the questions that were discussed at the council, must have been written before the council. Therefore, the date of the council supports the proposed redating.

A detailed analysis of both letters and of the relevant paragraphs of the capitulary of Soissons proves this.[14]

Among the resolutions of the council of Soissons[15] the following are significant:

II: Condemnation of Aldebert's heresy and of Aldebert himself: (... *ut heresis amplius in populo non resurget, sicut invenimus in Adlaberto heresim, quam publiciter una voce condempnaverunt XXIII episcopi et alii multi sacerdotes cum consensu principis et populi; ita condempnaverunt Adlabertum, ut amplius populus per falsus sacerdotes deceptus non pereat).*

III: Legitimate bishops were appointed and to preside over them the arch-bishops Abel of Reims and Hartbert of Sens: (... *Constituimus ... et ordinavimus per civitates legitimus episcopus et idcirco constituemus super eos archiepiscopus Abel et Ardobertum, ut ad ipsius vel iudicia eorum de*

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[10]   Artabasdos, p. 135: 'since it surmounts my competence by far'.

[11]   The remark in the previous note is truly clothed in the form of affected modesty and also presented with a touch of irony. But irony loses its value when one points to it with colons and exclamation points. Reading *Artabasdos*, p. 412 n. 926, certainly could have supplied the necessary clarity.

[12]   Jasper, as in n. 4 above.

[13]   Even if everyone since Tangl, *Studien*, agrees; the latest J. Jarnut, 'Bonifatius und die fränkischen Reformkonzilien (743–748)', *ZRG Kan.* 65 (1979), pp. 1–26, at p. 8 n. 42.

[14]   I thus hope to have complied with Jasper's request (as n. 4 above) that 'the validity of the events must then be checked closely from the side of Byzantine studies'.

[15]   *MGH Legum Sectio III, II Concilia Aevi Karolini* I,1, rec. A. Werminghoff (Hannover, 1906), pp. 33–36; other councils are cited after this edition too.

omne necessitate ecclesiastica recurrerent tam episcopi quam alius populus).

VII: All crosses that Aldebert had erected had to be destroyed: (*... constitu-emus, ut illas cruciculas, quas Adlabertus per parrochia plantaverat, omnes igne consumentur*).

A problem should be pointed out straight away at this point: the wording of III regarding the archbishops sounds as if these were the only two in Neustria. But this was not the case as will be shown below. This kind of wording needs to be explained.

Analysis of letters 57 and 58 produces the following evidence:

Letter 57:102.32–103.16: Pope Zacharias is delighted by the many letters from Boniface (103.11–13: *Dum vero et series sillabarum tuarum nobis panderetur per singula, multo amplius laetati sumus ...*), which certainly included letters to his predecessor, Gregory III.

103.17–22: Boniface has reported that Pippin and Carloman [182] are filled with divine zeal and support him during his sermons; they will receive a rich reward in heaven.

The corresponding message of Boniface to Zacharias must have followed not too long after Pippin and Carloman took office.[16]

103.23–28: In reference to the metropolitan bishops, namely Grimo, whom I already know,[17] Abel and Hartbert, whom you have placed in the metropolitan

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[16]   This is the first mention of Pippin in the surviving correspondence; Carloman is already mentioned in letter 50 (82, 1–19) and 51 (87, 14–24), (his intention to convene a council – the so-called Germanicum). For the dates of letters 50 (start of 742) and 51 (April 1, 742), see *Artabasdos*, p. 124 and pp. 116–18 below.

[17]   Grimo had been in Rome as an envoy of Charles Martel, cf. Tangl, *Studien*, p. 781 n. 1; in connection with this passage it is said (Tangl, ibid., n. 2) that Grimo must have already been appointed earlier. But this does not follow from the text. An assumption of this kind is in any case needed only if one dates the letter to a time after the council of Soissons, where of course Grimo is not mentioned. But one must then ask why Boniface treated Grimo differently to the other two and only later sent a report on him to Rome. Besides, Grimo must have been appointed without a council; yet this would then mean that there was no such hard and fast rule (in accordance with which archbishops could only be appointed at councils) as is always implicitly assumed when the letters are dated to a time after Soissons, see p. 108 below. Nothing was yet organized in such a manner and in ecclesiastical terms the extent of Boniface's authority and power was very considerable.

dioceses in the provinces, we do hereby confirm them on account of your testi-
mony and send them the pallia for their personal steadfastness and the increase
of God's church (*De episcopis verum metropolitanis,*[18] *id est Grimone, quem
nos iam compertum habemus, Abel sive Hartbercto, quos per unamquamque
metropolim per provincias constituisti, hos per tuum testimonium confirmamus
et pallia dirigimus*[19] *ad eorum firmissimam stabilitatem et ecclesiae Dei
augmentum*).

103.23–104.12: The archbishops in question have been informed about the
meaning of the pallium by letter (104.2f.: *eis direximus informantes eos, ut
sciunt, quid sit pallii usus ...*).[20] Zacharias shares a few reflections on this with
Boniface.

104.13–105.10: Boniface also described two heretics to the Pope. The Pope
does not give their names, but they are clearly identifiable as Aldebert (104.23:
et cruces statuens in campis) and Clement. Boniface did well to condemn them
and have them arrested (104.8f.: *iuxta ecclesiasticam regulam eos dampnavit
et in custodiam misit*).

So, Boniface has written a letter to the Pope before 22 June – the year
remains undetermined for the time being – in which he relates the appointment
of the three archbishops Grimo, Abel, and Hartbert and refers to the two
heretics. The way Pope Zacharias put it, [183] he had not heard about these
archbishops before. Also, given the wording of the letter the three were
appointed not by the council but by Boniface. For their confirmation by the
Pope, Boniface's testimony is sufficient.

As said before,[21] appointment of archbishops by a council is no *conditio sine
qua non*. Moreover in Neustria Grimo at least was not appointed by a council,
even if letter 57 is to be dated after the council of Soissons, since at Soissons
only Abel and Hartbert were named.

At this point one could object that in letter 50 (at the beginning of 742)
Boniface told the Pope that Carloman wanted to hold a synod (the so-called
Germanicum; see below). Boniface observed that no synod had been held there

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[18]   The terminology varies.

[19]   From the rest it emerges that this is a declaration of intent.

[20]   These letters are, if they were ever dispatched (see below p. 116 on the pallia), not
transmitted; they correspond in principle with the ones sent to the bishops in Austria, see
below p. 121 n. 71.

[21]   Above, n. 17.

for more than 80 years and there had been no archbishop (82.11f.: *synodum non fecerunt nec archiepiscopum habuerunt*) and that, on the whole, people had paid no attention to canon law.

But this means that in Gaul there had been bishops but not the two higher-ranking authorities – archbishops and synods – that could have dealt with order. That is why everything degenerated.

One should not extrapolate from this passage that Boniface expressed a demand (the appointment of archbishops had to involve a council). It is also not contradicted by the fact that Boniface himself was appointed archbishop in conformity with canon law at the so-called Germanicum.[22] In these matters, one must keep in mind the differences between parts of the realm and the personalities of Pippin and Carloman.

While Carloman – probably inspired by Boniface – planned a council right after he obtained his dominion and probably was able to hold it without difficulties,[23] Pippin seemingly had different ideas in the beginning. Whatever his reasons may have been,[24] only in 744 did he call a council at Soissons. It is also worth noting that he did not just appoint one archbishop, like Carloman, but three, presumably to prevent the concentration of power in one person and probably also to keep his bishops under better control.

That Boniface did not insist on Pippin organizing a council but appointed the three archbishops himself seems to be quite understandable from the situation that, as the Pope realized, the situation in Neustria required a certain flexibility, and the archbishops [184] confirmed this. The argument that the appointment of archbishops could only result from a council can, therefore, not generally be used for dating the letter after Soissons, and certainly not in relation to Grimo's appointment, which in any case took place independently of the council.

Finally, the wording of the letter speaks for the fact that Pope Zacharias also heard about the two heretics for the first time. Regarding the assumption that the letter was only written after the Council of Soissons, one has to come to the conclusion that the pope approved the council's condemnation of the two. As

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[22] His seat was Cologne, cf. Jarnut (as in n. 13 above), p. 14.

[23] Despite that, there were difficulties, since Carloman had to retract a few things at Estinnes, see p. 117 below, n. 56.

[24] One might assume that in his domain there were many more long-established bishops with their own ideas than in that of Carloman, and so it did not seem opportune for him to convoke a synod.

a matter of fact, though, only Aldebert was condemned at Soissons. On the other hand, Clement can only be considered condemned through the fact that he was included in the group of false priests at Estinnes.[25] In truth it seems, however, that Clement was actually not condemned.[26] Yet, one has to see[27] that Aldebert preached a rather popular heresy and with his following probably presented a greater ecclesiastical as well as political danger[28] than the intellectual-theological arguments of Clement, who had possibly the support of other bishops in Austria. A condemnation of Aldebert may have been a more pressing matter.

There is, therefore, no indication here to suggest that letter 57 has to be dated after Soissons (and Estinnes). In the meantime one has to view the process as follows, Boniface describes both heretics to the Pope as dangerous after he had taken action against them on his own initiative and had ordered them to be arrested. He achieved a condemnation by a council, however, only in one case (namely Aldebert at Soissons), while the other, at best, was dealt with as part of a group, but was not anathematized in person. So much for letter 57.

Letter 58:106.3–7: The letter that has now reached Zacharias (*per presentium gerulum*) surprises him very much, since it does not match (*eo quod nimis reperte sunt dissonare*) the letter that Boniface had sent to him the past August (*que a tua directe sunt fraternitate per elapsum Augustum mensem*).

All recent efforts to come to terms with this information assume that the letter of the past August is the same one that Zacharias answered by writing letter 57. Yet then a conjecture is necessary either regarding the date of letter 57 (which can only have been written after August), or regarding the statement 'Augustum', (for example one changes it into [185] Aprilem[29]), or one takes it to be the August of the previous year. All these attempts have been made.[30] Tangl also considers the possibility that the papal chancery made a mistake: in August the letter was despatched which Zacharias answered with letter 58. The

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[25] Jarnut (as n. 13 above), p. 8f.

[26] See pp. 119–20 below.

[27] See also p. 118f. below.

[28] Therefore also the separately ordered destruction of crosses. Compare in addition also the articles Aldebert (A. Werner) and Clemens (by the same) in the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 1 (1896), p. 324f. and 4 (1898), p. 162f.

[29] So still Jarnut (as n. 13 above), p. 8 n. 41.

[30] See Tangl, *Studien*, p. 780.

chancery then mistakenly labelled the letter as the one of the previous August, which the Pope had already answered with no. 57.[31]

As explained before, all these attempts rest on the assumption that the Pope answered two letters from Boniface with one letter each (nos. 57 and 58). But in fact there are three letters of Boniface to consider, since what Zacharias reports in letter 58 about the letter of the previous August makes it impossible for this letter to be identical with the one which he had already answered on 22 June.

Further analysis therefore has to start with a yet to be confirmed sequence:

Letter dated earlier than 22 June – from Boniface.
Letter 57 of 22 June – from Zacharias.
Letter of August – from Boniface.
Letter before 5 November – from Boniface.
Letter 58 of 5 November – from Zacharias.

As in the following Zacharias summarises the *August letter*, the conclusion is allowed that he had not yet answered it when the *letter dated before 5 November* arrived in Rome.

Zacharias says the following about the *August letter*:

106.7–9: There you indicated to us that with God's help and Carloman's approval and testimony a council has taken place (*ubi nobis indicasti, quod et concilium adiuvante deo et Carlomannno prebente consensu et contestante factum est*).

Here the following needs to be acknowledged: it was clearly Carloman's council and it had already taken place. This cannot possibly be the council of Soissons, however, but only the so-called Germanicum or that of Estinnes. For the time being nothing further can be proven. There was no mention of a council in the *letter dated before 22 June*.

106.9–11: And that you removed false priests from their position, priests who were not worthy of performing their duty (*et qualiter falsos sacerdotes, qui divinum non erant digni attractare ministerium, a sacro munere suspendisti*).

This is a measure taken by Boniface, not the council. Nor is it necessarily to do with the cases of Aldebert and Clement.

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[31]   *Op. cit.*, p. 781.

106.11–15: And that you appointed three archbishops to their individual metropolitan positions (*et quia tres archiepiscopos per singulas metropolim ordinasses*); namely, Grimo in Rouen, Abel in Reims, and Hartbert in Sens.

[186] These are the three who were also mentioned in the *letter dated before 22 June*. The details are not identical, so it is possible to assume that Boniface informed the Pope twice about the appointment of the three. But then it needs to be explained why Boniface reported the same event twice.

106.16–20: The latter was also in Rome and delivered your letter to us along with letters from Carloman and Pippin in which you have suggested that we ought to send pallia to these previously mentioned three metropolitans. We have already agreed to that for the benefit of the church of Christ (*qui et apud nos fuit et tua nobis pariter et Carlomanni atque Pippini detulit scripta, per quae suggessistis, ut tria pallia hisdem tribus prenominatis metropolitanis dirigere deberemus; quod et largiti sumus pro adunatione et reformatione ecclesiarum Christi*).

The following should be said about this passage: Hartbert brought the *August letter* to Rome, but surely not the *letter dated before 22 June*. Of course, this is an *argumentum e silentio* (in letter 57 Zacharias mentions no visit by Hartbert) but it carries weight because of the remark in letter 57 that the Pope already knew Grimo from before (meaning: and he did not know the other two).

Hartbert also brought letters – rather a joint letter (note the *et ... et ... atque*) – from Carloman and Pippin.

It is commonly assumed that the two majordomos would have sent the respective capitularies of their councils; therefore, Carloman would have sent the joint one from the so-called Germanicum and from Estiennes, and Pippin that of Soissons.[32]

Yet this is not in the letter: there it only mentions that 'you' (that is Boniface, Carloman and Pippin[33]) requested from the Pope that the three men be sent pallia.

In historical context this means that the Pope had not yet dispatched the pallia, which he had confirmed in letter 57. This does not prove mistrust or anything like it; it is enough to assume that pallia, which were quite richly

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[32] Tangl, ibid.
[33] As already indicated, the latter two probably in a joint letter, since Carloman in his sphere had nothing to do with the three archbishops.

decorated, were not readily available, but had to be manufactured first (with special indication of each particular metropolitan see?).

One should also not conclude from this passage that Boniface and the majordomos had to demand the pallia. The more likely course of events seems to have been that Boniface had appointed the three archbishops and had informed the pope in the *letter dated before 22 June*. In the meantime he had also received Pippin's support for these appointments and had reported this to the pope in the *August letter*. At the same time also Pippin (together with Carloman) supported these appointments.

[187] For this process a council was not needed.[34] That at Soissons only two were chosen has other reasons which we soon will find out.

Zacharias has granted the pallia requested. The strange choice of wording *largiti sumus* is determined by the following.[35] This message does not mean that the 'letter of August' was also answered.

Regarding the *letter dated before 5 November*, Zacharias says the following:

106.20–26: But now, after I have again received a letter from you, I am very astonished that previously together with the afore mentioned princes of Gaul you asked for three pallia and now only for one for Grimo (*Nunc autem denuo tuas suspicientes syllabas*[36] *valde sumus, ut diximus, mirati, eo quod ante nobis una cum memoratis principibus Galliarum pro tribus palliis suggessisti et postea pro solo Grimone*). Kindly tell me why you first asked for three and then only one, so that I may know and no misunderstanding may arise between us (*Sed volumus, ut nobis tua indicat fraternitas, cur nobis ita direxisti antea pro tribus et post modum pro uno, ut et nos certi redditi ex hoc nulla in nobis sit ambiguitas*).

The starting point for the following assumption must be that the Pope could not find a reason in Boniface's *letter dated before 5 November* why the requests for two of the three pallia (namely for Abel and Hartbert) were withdrawn while the request for Grimo remained unchanged. The charge of simony that the pope rebuts later in the letter has nothing to do with this and Zacharias did not word it in such a way (see below).[37] In addition this reason could not explain why now Grimo alone should still receive a pallium.

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[34] See p. 108f. above.

[35] See p. 115 below, n. 43.

[36] This phrasing also fits better if the 'August letter' has not yet been answered.

[37] The passage by Tangl, *Studien*, p. 777, is thus not right; correct, for example, is Th. Schieffer, *Winfried-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954), p. 228.

The reason that Boniface has more or less formally renounced two of the three pallia must be related to Neustria, to be more precise with Pippin, and it can still be uncovered: the metropolitans should not only be ranked above the bishops, but should also have their own dioceses at the bishops' expense. The opposition of Milo of Reims and Trier to Abel's appointment indicates as much.[38]

[188] An explanation for why the request for pallia for Abel and Hartbert was withdrawn must therefore be based on Pippin's encountering such immense problems in these two cases that it seemed advantageous to him to relinquish both appointments at the same time. Boniface formally told the Pope – to name the reason would have been undiplomatic and inappropriate toward Pippin.

It was different in Grimo's case: the see of Rouen, which now became an archepiscopal see, was probably vacant and most likely was not to be taken from anybody. The sources say nothing about whether and when Grimo received his pallium.[39]

107.1–20: In the *letter dated before 5 November*, Zacharias also read the accusation of simony (*Repperimus etiam in memoratis tuis litteris, quod ... in simoniacum heresim incidamus*) that he took money and pressured those to whom he assigned pallia to give him rewards and extracted money from them (*accipientes et compellentes, quorum pallia tribuimus, ut nobis praemia largiantur,[40] expetentes ab illis pecunias*).

But no one has claimed that Zacharias wanted money in return for the pallia.[41] More likely the following seems to have happened: when Hartbert

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[38]   Tangl, *Studien*, p. 782; Schieffer (see preceding note) notes the bishops' opposition and assumes that the reason is that Abel and Hartbert were Anglo-Saxons and Grimo a Frank; yet, concrete political problems still must enter in. Jarnut (as n. 13 above), pp. 8 and 15, tells the story so that after losing Reims, Milo must have lost Trier as well. But the loss of Reims suffices as reason for Milo's opposition.

[39]   See also p. 116 below.

[40]   See n. 43 below.

[41]   Tangl, *Studien*, p. 777, describes it this way: 'The retraction of two already fulfilled bestowals that thus became necessary (i.e., that only Grimo should get the pallium) aroused even stronger displeasure in the curia when Boniface in this second letter voiced grievance on account of monetary claims with which people at any rate had approached Hartbert, who was in Rome on the occasion of the bestowal of the pallium. Against this charge the Pope defended himself with infuriating words. But that would mean that only bishops (foolishly) travelling to Rome were asked for money and that simony money in cases where no one

was in Rome he had – already in the eighth century – received the typical impression of the Mediterranean *Roma Aeterna*. He was made to pay everywhere, everyone held their hand out, in order to milk the according to Roman standards probably prosperous Frankish bishop. Hartbert probably told Boniface: here one arrives as a future pallium-bearer[42] in Rome and one must still pay. This is exactly how Zacharias' report of Boniface's formulation reads. This might have been condensed in Hartbert's version, to the effect that one must even pay for a pallium.

But, Zacharias goes on, you should not have this suspicion, for we do not sell spiritual presents. Even for those three pallia, which we donated, for those no one has demanded anything in return (13–15: *Dum et illa tria pallia, que te suggerente, ut prediximus, sumus largiti,*[43] *nullum ab eis quispiam commodum* [189] *expetiit*). Even the documents[44] that our chancery issues are free of charge[45] (*Insuper et charte, que secundem morem a nostro scrinio pro sua confirmatione atque doctrina tribuuntur, de nostro concessimus nihil ab eis auferentes*). So do not use the charge of simony, since we excommunicate those who practice it.

Obviously, then, the supposed or real charge of simony has nothing to do with the withdrawal of the requests for two of the pallia.

107.21–29: In the earlier letter (the *August letter*: *per alia tua scripta*) Boniface reported on a fraudulent priest in Bavaria, who claimed to have been ordained by the Pope himself. Boniface's suspicions were justified and, in any case, he had full power to remove those who depart from the holy canons.

This sentence then finally proves that the *August letter* had not yet been answered and thus cannot be the same as the *letter dated before 22 June*, which was answered by letter 57.

107.30–108.7: Boniface wanted to know whether he still had the right to preach in Bavaria granted to him by Zacharias' predecessor, Gregory III. Zacharias confirms this right and extends it to Gaul and for the rest of his life.

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took office were always reimbursed (? – Why else should the curia have felt displeasure?). This was not even a good argument in 1916, when people still thought in the categories of the *Kulturkampf*.

[42]   That he was to receive the pallium is nowhere written.

[43]   The use of the word *largiri* is explained here; cf. above, n. 35 and n. 40.

[44]   Understand: we do not even ask to be reimbursed for the expensive parchment.

[45]   The documents, which are already mentioned in letter 57 (see p. 108 above with n. 20) have not yet been issued.

In chronological terms such a passage proves nothing; but it must have been written not too far removed from Zacharias' taking office.

It has therefore been proven that letters 57 and 58 do not allude to the council of Soissons. Yet we must still ask whether the letters have a bearing on the council and so, without directly referring to it, assume the situation after the council.

Abel and Hartbert were appointed at this council, the very men whose pallia were renounced in the *letter dated before 5 November.* If we suppose that letters 57 and 58 were written after the council, we must also assume that Pippin summoned a council, had two metropolitans appointed there, and then made his retraction half a year later.

Or perhaps quite the reverse is true?

After Pippin encountered problems with the appointment of two of the three metropolitans, he made Boniface (for the time being!) renounce the pallia for them. But naturally Pippin could not let this stand in the long run; it was a question of his reputation. He tried another way.

After not having thought too highly of councils before[46] – at least he had not summoned one like Carloman – the council of Soissons, with the consent of the bishops,[47] now served to get the two [190] appointed as metropolitans. With this move he wanted to break the power of the other bishops, such as Milo. The council naturally voted in his favour and confirmed both. But in his capitualaries Pippin obviously did not note that it was a confirmation of a prior decision[48] – he would have indirectly admitted a political defeat – instead it looks as if the two were appointed just then.

Also according to these assumptions, letters 57 and 58 chronologically belong before the period of the council of Soissons, that is, the year 743.

In our chain of events, it is no longer important that everything was not settled at the council of Soissons. After all, letters 86 and 87 still mention our problem (if they are really the same pallia), without providing further reasons.

The council of Carloman that the *August letter* reports as having taken place is still important. Basically, it could be the so-called Germanicum as well as the council of Estinnes, both of which took place in spring. Yet the following needs to be taken into account: the capitulary of the so-called Germanicum is not

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[46]   For the reasons, see above, n. 24.
[47]   Even those who had maybe opposed it before? We do not know. In any case, he had a majority on his side.
[48]   See the hesitation at p. 106f. above.

preserved separately but always along with that of Estinnes.[49] In Zacharias'
report of Boniface's *letter of August* there is no mention that Carloman
had transmitted a capitulary of this council.[50] Finally, in recent years some
researchers for various reasons have come to the conclusion that the so-called
Germanicum took place not in 742, as recorded, but only in 743.[51]

Despite the danger of once again being accused of ignorance,[52] I should
briefly explain that my findings on Artabasdos and the resulting re-dating of
western documents also support the re-dating of the so-called Germanicum and
thus also can explain the combination of the two capitularies.

The (undated[53]) letter 50 is the first letter of Boniface to Zacharias. Apart
from the request for the confirmation of three dioceses, namely Würzburg,
Büraburg and Erfurt, Boniface informs the pope of Carloman's plan of calling
a council in his part of the realm (82.1–9), in fact with the agreement of the
Apostolic See.

In letter 51 (87.14–24) Pope Zacharias agrees that Boniface [191] and
Carloman preside over a council (23f.: *tua fraternitas ... consederit cum eodem
excellentissimo viro*).

On account of reflections concerning the chronology of Artabasdos this
letter should be assigned to the year 742 (1 April).[54] The confirmation letters
for Würzburg and Büraburg were sent on the same date.

This council – it is the first – took place almost a year later; namely, on 23
April 743.[55] One would not be wrong to think that after the Pope's consent it
took a year of preparation.[56]

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[49]   As letter 56; see below, n. 60.

[50]   See already p. 112 above.

[51]   Most recently, Jäschke (as in n. 1 above), pp. 100–102.

[52]   Cf. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch
einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978) p. 9; there the question is the coronation of
Charlemagne.

[53]   Tangl dates it at 'the beginning of 742,' surely just after Zacharias taking office.

[54]   *Artabasdos*, pp. 122–24; there is no reason to have the Pope's answer come a year
later.

[55]   For the postscript, see p. 120f. below.

[56]   Or did Carloman wait a period of time for Pippin? – If the Pope wrote in 743 (on 1
April), the so-called Germanicum (21 April) cannot be meant, since it either came before the
date of the letter (in the year 742), or (in the year 743) so soon after the letter that hardly any
time would have remained for convening it. For that reason too, assigning the letter to the
year 742 commends itself, and the council to the year 743. – Jarnut (as in n. 13 above), p. 4

Boniface's *letter before 22 June* still does not mention the holding of the council. It was therefore probably written before 21 April 743.[57] In the *August letter* the pope received the news that the council (that is the so-called Germanicum) has taken place. But he has not yet received the capitulary from Carloman.[58] Carloman sent it only after the council of Estinnes, which was certainly planned and agreed upon in the following year and took place almost simultaneously with the council of Soissons.[59] Carloman combined the two capitularies and sent them to the Pope.[60]

[192] Finally, the requirements of the proposed dating make the chronology of the two heretics Aldebert and Clement plausible.

The first mention of them is in letter 57, now from 22 June 743. One of them, Aldebert, was condemned in 744 at Soissons. There is no reference to an explicit condemnation of Clement; therefore, he was dealt with differently and maybe not even condemned.[61] As already noted, the reason seems to be that Aldebert was a heretic 'outside the Church', who could be dangerous to State

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with n. 14, notices this difficulty and believes that the Pope's approval (in his opinion to be dated 1 April 743) arrived so late at the council (21 April of the same year), that they had to convene once more in Estinnes a year later. But the assumption that Carloman had to let the council convene without authorization, so to speak, must be excluded. Why should he have suddenly held it in 743 after waiting a whole year for the Pope's answer? And for Estinnes there are other, more plausible reasons: 1. The resolution of the so-called Germanicum (I) to meet yearly. 2. Carloman thought it suitable to rescind some of the resolutions, cf. Jarnut p. 3f. and above, n. 23. 3. Pippin found himself for other reasons (still?) obliged to hold a council (pp. 109 above and 116) and in the East they wished to meet at the same time (see n. 59 below); the decisions of the two synods are identical except for certain understandable differences; cf. Jarnut, pp. 5–7.

[57]   This also makes it necessary to date letter 51 to 1 April 742.

[58]   It is idle to speculate about the reasons. Did they reckon that Pippin would convene at the same time and want them to appear together in Rome?

[59]   Or even exactly simultaneously, as held by Jäschke (see n. 1 above), p. 114 n. 275 – That is certainly the reason that Boniface was not in Soissons. He had more important duties in Carloman's sphere. Boniface's absence from Soissons could not be explained according the old system of dating (Soissons 744; Estinnes 743; the so-called Germanicum 742), so his presence was simply asserted. Considering this, too, it becomes possible that the Germanicum should be assigned to 743 and Estinnes to 744.

[60]   According to the dating advocated here, letter 56 (capitularies; the cover letter is not extant) must be placed after letters 57 and 58.

[61]   He was then dealt with differently when he (as Jarnut assumes; see above, n. 25), without actually being named, was included in the group of fraudulent priests in Estinnes.

and Church, while Clement remained 'within the Church' and probably also found support there.

However that may be, it is more convincing that the Pope was informed about both heretics before Soissons (and Estinnes). It is less convincing that he received news about the two heretics only after Soissons, when letters 57 and 58 are assigned to the year 744 – and especially individually, as the second one (Clement) was not condemned by name – since Zacharias does not mention a synod at which the condemnation would have taken place. But it is quite possible that Boniface, naturally in agreement with Pippin and Carloman, had both arrested. No council was necessary for that.

Denehard's words at the Roman council of 745 give indirect evidence concerning these heretics.[62] According to him Boniface discovered two heretics at a council in the land of the Franks[63] and in cooperation with the Frankish princes had them arrested (25f.: ....*et repperisset illic falsos sacerdotes, hereticos et scismaticos, id est Aldebertum et Clementem, sacerdotio privans una cum principibus Francorum retrudi fecit in custodiam*). But this means that the two were at the council (the so-called Germanicum) (as participants?, as guests?), and that Boniface noticed them and had them arrested. The text in no way indicates that this council had condemned the two. Denehard therefore says exactly the same as what Boniface had written in the *letter before 22 June*.[64]

[193] Subsequent developments are not entirely clear. Boniface appears to have obtained condemnation through a synod only for Aldebert.[65] Yet that

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[62] Letter 59; 109, 22–28.

[63] The so-called Germanicum is meant, certainly not the three (Germanicum, Estinnes and Soissons) together as 'the council', as Jarnut (n. 13 above), p. 10. Something like that could only have been expressed using this formulation when the two truly had been condemned by name at the same (tripartite) council. But this is not the case.

[64] With the difference that in letter 57 the princes are not named. But since *the letter dated before 22 June* possibly had been written before the council (see p. 118 above), it is possible that Boniface first obtained the consent of the princes at the council and let the already arranged appointments be confirmed, so that Denehard can say in a somewhat summary way that Boniface had discovered the heretics at the council.

[65] It is striking that Boniface in his letter to Zacharias about the Roman council (letter 59; 112, 26–29) expressly requests the Pope to intercede with Carloman to put that heretic (namely Clement) in jail. It looks as though that at this time – summer 745 – only Clement was free.

does not seem to have had lasting effect.[66] Both certainly continued to be active.

Probably that was the reason Boniface turned to Rome, to obtain a condemnation there.[67] That certainly was thought to be a way of putting pressure on the majordomos, who because of political considerations presumably did not act against the two heretics in the way that Boniface hoped for.

Much remains unclear in this heresy affair.[68] A thorough analysis of the sources could probably accomplish more, yet that would be beyond the scope of this essay. It is sufficient to say that the story of the heretics Aldebert and Clement does not prove that letters 57 and 58 were written after the council of Soissons. Assigning them to the year 743 is more plausible and much more conclusive.

After these remarks I pull back to the eastern half of the Mediterranean. I do hope that I am not going to have to listen to another: 'How dare you!' but perhaps I have been able to show that even in the eighth century the world of the *imperium* was closer-knit than it often seems and that chronological results, which are necessary and right for the East, are at least[69] not entirely wrong and impossible for the West.

Allow me to put forth three points that are only briefly related to the subject in a postscript.

In discussing letters 51, 52, and 53 I wrote that letters 52 and 53 mistakenly received the same incorrect dates as letter 51.[70] It is of course correct that all three letters, which were written and dispatched together had the same date from the start – 1 April [194] 742, in my opinion. But when they were rewritten

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[66] In letter 59; 111,11–13 it is stated that the people protested strongly against the victimization of Aldebert. His removal was not easy to manage politically.

[67] That Aldebert had already been condemned at Soissons is passed over deliberately in Rome; the renewed condemnation should not be regarded as superfluous, nor would there have been a wish to offend Pippin, who had him be condemned.

[68] Thus I do not understand the remark of Epiphanius of Silva Candida (letter 59; 114, 35–115,6) whether it refers to a council that had already been held (Jarnut interprets it in such a way, n. 13 above, p. 11; since he assumes 'a' council; see p. 192 above, n. 63), or one that had yet to be convened. The wording would speak for that. But then 'the' Frankish council would not have taken place until 745, just partial synods.

[69] Attention: I speak again in an affected way!

[70] *Artabasdos*, p. 122f.; a reviewer could have cut in here.

according to the Constantinian date formula they were mistakenly dated a year too late.[71]

It is remarkable that the wrong dating of the Roman synod in the year 743, the second year of Artabasdos,[72] is unanimous. Here, too, the mistake has to be found in the archetype, which means possibly in the original as well. This would have resulted, however, from a miscalculation or an error by the chancery, if the dating of the original was not changed later. That, however, would have had to happen under the influence of an alternative chronology,[73] maybe even the false chronology of Theophanes, with respect to Artabasdos, propagated by Anastasius Bibliotecarius. This, however, would be too late as the date of change. Still, there is much to be considered here.

Ilse Rochow[74] draws my attention to the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*,[75] which – as she rightly concludes – belongs to the group of oriental sources containing the relevant chapter of the *Liber Pontificalis*.[76] Since Rochow has already drawn attention to several important points in the *Continuatio*,[77] may I briefly note the following:

Constantine V, who was crowned by his father (and thus was legitimate ruler) recognised immediately after his father's death that Artabasdos wanted to seize power from him. – This is further proof for dating the rebellion immediately after the death of Leo III.

The version contains several misunderstandings that make it different from the usual kind of oriental version:

• Artabasdos as one of Constantine's officers gathered all the troops of the

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[71] These letters thus come from a copy tradition; this notion raises difficulties, especially since one can hardly explain why the contemporary letter for Erfurt has not been preserved.

[72] *Artabasdos*, p. 134f.

[73] In Byzantium there was trouble in getting a chronological grip on the Dark Ages. This emerges from a comparison of the various lists of emperors that arose in the ninth century.

[74] As in n. 3 above.

[75] *MGH AA 11, Chronica Minora II*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1894), nos. 126–128, p. 365, 19–366, 4; =*Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, ed. J. E. López Pereira (*Textos Medievales 58*; Zaragoza, 1980), 89, pp. 118–20.

[76] Cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 293f. Also bear in mind the postulation of Artabasdos' blinding immediately following his defeat.

[77] P. 220: In accordance with the (false) chronology of Agapius; iconoclasm played no role; the length of Artabasdos' rule amounted to three years (see the following).

palace under the pretence of a war against other nations. – Usually: While Constantine sets out against the Arabs, Artabasdos starts a rebellion.
- He drives Constantine from the palace. – Usually: He seizes the palace while Constantine is on the battlefield.
- Constantine seeks help from neighbouring peoples. – Usually: from the Anatolikoi.
- [195] Artabasdos is besieged in Constantinople for three years. – Usually: No analogy.[78]

An explanation for these errors could be the assumption that this version is a translation from an oriental language made by someone who was not quite competent in it.[79] This question, too, must be further investigated, just as the one of when this notice reached Spain.[80]

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[78] The length of the siege in fact indicates the length of his rule.; it is rounded off upwards.

[79] Syriac?; or even already Arabic in Spain? – Th. Nöldeke, in Mommsen, as in n. 75 above, p. 368, already established the origin of the *Continuatio* in Syria.

[80] Nöldeke, as in the preceding n., p. 368f., thinks of a translation from the Greek. The mistakes appear to me to be too severe for that. A postulation of an *ad verbum* translation can hardly explain the syntax of the Latin text and also does not explain the mistakes.

Classicism in the Eighth Century?
The Homily of Patriarch Germanos on
the Deliverance of Constantinople

Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homilie des Patriarchen
Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels

[209] The homily Πᾶσα μὲν ἀνθρώπων (*BHG* 1130s), traditionally regarded as the work of Patriarch Germanos, has been edited by V. Grumel[1] and several passages have prompted him to draw historical conclusions. While hardly believing that the homily adds to information beyond the known sources,[2] he nevertheless finds two interesting references.

Firstly, it has been shown that in 626 the Avar khagan's boats manned with Slavs reached Constantinople by land and not by the River Danube and the Black Sea.[3] Secondly, Germanos proves that the naval attack in the Golden Horn occurred because Constantinople [210] had no sea walls facing the Horn and the khagan thus expected to capture the city without a fight.[4]

In another essay[5] Grumel has sought to present proof that the sea walls in fact were erected only after 626. This is, however, not the case.[6]

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[1]   V. Grumel, 'Homélie de Saint Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople', *Revue des Études byzantines* 16 (1958), pp. 183–205, text 191–99, hereafter *Homélie*.

[2]   *Homélie*, p. 189.

[3]   This does not apply, because the ἐγκαθελκύσαντος (§16, p. 195) only says that the boats were launched in the waters of the Golden Horn – that is not the issue – but not how they were brought there. These boats are called αὐτόγλυφα, a word that is a rhetorical twist on μονόξυλα to begin with, but which the author wishes to use as meaning 'home-made but on location' rather than 'home-made and brought from a distance.'

[4]   §16, p. 195: ... ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν νομίσαντος ὡς ἄτε τείχους παραλίου χηρεύουσαν.

[5]   'La défense maritime de Constantinople du côté de la Corne d'Or et le siège des Avars', *Byzantinoslavica* 25 (1964), pp. 217–33.

[6]   See my *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides* (Munich 1980),

Further, Grumel notes that no emperor is named in the sermon[7] and that the belief in a miracle to save the city in 626 is considerably stronger than in the contemporary sources.[8] What Grumel does not note is that his two additional pieces of information concern – and this in a sermon in commemoration of the siege of 717/18 – the deliverance of the city in 626, while the references to 717/18 add nothing additional at all and are rather – as it is really the case in 626 too – to be called very meagre.

There is also the following consideration: if one compares this with any other sermon of Germanos, or any other work of his, an enormous difference in stylistic level appears. The other works are written in a good patristic koine, which is nonetheless commonplace in every century, while this homily seeks to use all the stylistic and rhetorical devices of the Atticizing prose of the Second Sophistic.[9] Of all conceivable explanations for this difference – for example, Germanos once could have sought a higher level of style or the attribution to him could be mistaken[10] – only two matter. Either the sermon is a purposeful forgery and the attribution to Germanos came at the earliest in the late 800s – and the purpose of such a deed needs some explanation[11] – [211] or it is a rhetorical school exercise, again coming from the late 800s at the earliest, that turned out so well that it was taken to be genuine and made its way into the collection of homilies.[12]

In any case, the sermon is not an authentic work by Germanos. This emerges beyond doubt from a close analysis of the text. The present analysis is limited to §§ 9–20. In §§1–8 and 21–25 only the need to praise the Virgin Mary is

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p. 159f., hereafter *Zufälliges*.

[7]   *Homélie*, p. 188. Because the subject of the sermon is always the present, the un-named emperor can only be Leo III. Grumel therefore concludes that the emperor was delib-erately omitted and dates the sermon between 726 (the beginning of the open opposition between the emperor and the patriarch in the controversy over icons), and 730 (when Germanos was removed), and proposes 728, the tenth anniversary of the city's deliverance, as the exact date.

[8]   *Homélie*, p. 188f., but see p. 138 below.

[9]   This is obvious and does not need to be documented in greater detail, but see the Appendix below.

[10]   H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 475, suggests a possible confusion with Germanos II. But the references to contemporary events eliminate this possibility.

[11]   The oldest manuscript dates back to the 13th century: cf. *Homélie*, p. 184.

[12]   In this case one should not speak about a forgery.

justified. Apart from the evident level of style, there is nothing relevant to the question of authenticity.

My analysis includes first a paraphrase of each section[13] and then remarks on the text.

§ 9: All Christians must praise Mary, since she through Christ's birth partici-
pated in the Holy Event; but we have to do so, in particular, since she has
delivered us through her might from the greatest danger. The danger was
greater than any which the city and all of Christianity has hitherto had to
endure.

A commentary on the rhetoric of the sermon is not intended, but it should not be difficult to prove that the assertion that it was the greatest danger of all times for everybody, suits the genre of this type of speech. Thus it is noteworthy that the double role of Mary – mother of God and deliverer of the city – appears even in George of Pisidia. For Mary has defeated Nature twice: τόκῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μάχῃ τὸ δεύτερον.[14]

Christendom as a whole has admitted that it would have faced the same
danger as we, if the Saracens, the antagonists of the glory of Christ, had
been able to lead their campaign to its foreseen conclusion.

The implication is that Constantinople stands for all Christendom and therefore was defended by Mary. Theophanes does not word matters in such a high-flown manner: τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βασίλειον.[15]

Only Mary has thwarted the attack. Against our sins, with which we had
armed the enemy, she has employed intercession (πρεσβεία) with her
Son and thus could destroy [212] the manifold armaments of the enemy
without even having been seen (ἀοράτως).

Mary alone warding off the attack is the explanation of the siege of 626 as presented by Theodore Synkellos[16] and particularly George of Pisidia,[17] in

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[13] Grumel, *Homélie*, pp. 199–205, offers a translation.

[14] *Bell. Av.* ed. A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi I, Panegirici epici* (Etall, 1959), v. 5. See again p. 136f. below.

[15] *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 1,398.11.

[16] Theod. Syn., Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀθέων βαρβάρων καὶ Περσῶν ... κινήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, ed. L. Sternbach, *Studia philologica in Georgium Pisidam* (Krakau, 1900), pp. 298–320, (=*Analecta Avarica [seorsum impressum ex Tomo XXX Diss. philol. Acad. Litt. Cracov]*, pp. 2–24) at 311.21.

[17] *Bell. Avar.* 5.451.

greatest detail.[18] This explanation then entered later sources for 626 as well.[19]

The calamity being provoked only through 'our sins' is a topos that is of course also used in sieges.[20] Here the topos is refined, because the enemy is armed with our sins.

The armament of the enemy is πολύμικτος.[21] This surely alludes to the 'many peoples' who probably were present at the siege of 626.[22] Nothing comparable is recorded for 717/18.

Mary acted invisibly. That certainly is not traditional, but it could be a rationalization of Mary's role in the deliverance of 626 as described by George of Pisidia.[23] For the historical Germanos – if it was him who inspired the formula of Pope Gregory II – God worked invisibly (ἀφανῶς) in 717/18.[24]

§ 10:   It is because of her maternal concern that Mary must have reacted so strongly to the attack against her Son. She pulled their leaders by the hair (τῆς λογικῆς αὐτῶν κεφαλῆς) and threw them to the ground.[25] [213] In doing so she appeased their rage and prevented them from doing even more harm in their madness.

The caliph Suleiman died in 717, probably outside Constantinople.[26] The

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[18]   On both sources see *Zufälliges*, pp. 49 and 51–53.

[19]   The synaxarion of the Akathistos (PG 92, 1348D–1353B, at 1349D), the Diegesis ophelimos (PG 92, 1353D–1372D, esp. 1357B, and 1361A and D); the synaxaria from the synaxarion of Constantinople, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (hereafter *SEC*) in *Propylaeum ad ASS Novembris* ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902), for 7 August (872.6–876.3, at 872.11–14, 873.14f., 874.13f.) and for 16 August (901.30–904.27: at 904.5f.) deserve mention. The origin of these texts and the relations among them are still unexplained. See the Appendix for discussion of these questions.

[20]   Theoph., 498.4: διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν (with reference to 717/18) or (with reference to 617) *Theod. Synk. Predigt.*, ed. Ch. Loparev, *Vizantiskii Vremennik* 2 (1985) 581–626, at 592. See also *Zufälliges*, p. 40.

[21]   The most probable reading, instead of the printed (and transmitted?) πολύσμικτος.

[22]   Theoph., 315.9f., Georg. Pis., *Bell. Avar.*, 5.197, and *Zufälliges*, p. 120.

[23]   See *Zufälliges*, pp. 48–50, 53 and also Georg. Pis., *Bell. Avar.*, 5.7. Mary conquers ἀόπλως: see also p. 137 below. The synaxarion of the Akathistos calls Mary ἄμαχος πρόμαχος and στρατηγὸς ἄμαχος (1349D).

[24]   See the letter of Pope Gregory II to Germanos, *Mansi* 13,99B.3 and my *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2 [1981]), p. 161 (hereafter: *Artabasdos*).

[25]   Write καταρρήσσουσαν: n.b. a very rare word.

[26]   Theoph., 396.23f. On the date, see my provisional account in 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (1985),

historical Germanos probably knew this and quite possibly informed Pope Gregory; at least Gregory alludes to this in his letter to Germanos.[27] The present passage seems to refer to the version in the later legend according to which after the death of Suleiman, Umar ordered the besiegers to withdraw,[28] so that they no longer could do any harm.

§ 11:   They came with many people and many weapons, but evidently did not know that the city had in Mary a strong and supernatural wall against which they could do nothing.

According to Theodore Synkellos,[29] the damned (the khagan) did not know yet what he had first to learn from experience, which is that the city had a supernatural protectress in the Blachernai church.

Thus they could not make use of their siege engines; she herself had condemned them to idleness.

In connection with the previous remark, this one seems illogical. Only through the use of siege engines could they have learned that Mary protects the city! The origin of the remark might be that in 626 the Avars burned all their military equipment before they withdrew[30] and so this, too, was 'unused'. Though the Avars had also stormed the landwalls, in the surviving sources [214] for 717/18 no record of an attack on the walls is preserved. Nor do these sources report anything about military equipment.

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pp. 175–200, esp. 180f., hereafter *Ikonoklasmus*. In general, compare the account in Theoph., 395.22f., also *SEC*, 903.22 (Συλλειμάν, ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν), in a legendary context (visit to the city), but also a confirmation of the reality of Suleiman. C. Hatzidimitriu, 'Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum (16 August) and the Arab Siege of Constantinople in 717 AD', *Βυζαντινά* 12 (1983), pp. 183–207, presents on pp. 189–92 a new edition of the synaxarion based on the version of *Vindob. Hist. Gr.* 45, already available in Sp. Lampros, Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα (Athens, 1884), pp. 141–44. When he in fact explains on p. 198 n. 27 that the name of Suleiman was present only in the latter edition, he is as wrong as he is when he assumes that the attempted attack on the city was historical. Texts that borrow legends spread them, but they do not prove them!

[27]   *Artabasdos*, p. 172.

[28]   Theoph., 399.5f. 'Pulled by the hair and dragged to the ground' looks rather like the free use of a topos, but I could not prove it.

[29]   308.10–13, Geor. Pis., *Bell. Avar.*, 5.407f. changes the irony: the Barbarians believe that the same people whom they ridicule assist them. See also *Zufälliges*, pp. 49, 51.

[30]   According to Theod. Synk., 312.31–35, a special insult. See also *Zufälliges*, p. 52: the burning also in the *Diegesis*, 1361D.

§ 12: With his rod Moses induced the wonder that parted the waters and the
       people escaped the sea and the enemy with dry feet.

This only seems to make reference to the first part of the passage through the
Red Sea. In fact, however, the author has saved the second part for later, in
order to quote it in connection with the legendary destruction of the Arab fleet
on its way home, the place it is commonly cited.[31]

§ 13: Instead of a rod, Christ used Mary as the instrument of our deliverance,
       because[32] the enemy did not cease to degrade her as just a woman with-
       out a share of divine power.[33]

Among all the versions of the comparison with Moses,[34] the one used (or
made up?) for 'Mary as the rod of Christ' is certainly correct in theological
terms but in literary terms quite awkward. Pope Gregory – inspired by the real
Germanos? – knew of the longstanding Arab hostility directed in particular
against Mary.[35]

       Thereby they threatened to turn this holy church of hers[36] into a house of
       prayer for their execrable religion.[37]

The author gives the impression that he preached this sermon in a particular
church. At this point one must remember the comment in § 17 that the occasion
is an annual commemoration, in the context of a night-time service and related
to the metastasis of Mary.[38]

Grumel thinks this passage refers to the Blachernai church and to the
pannychis festival [215] in the night of 14 to 15 August, which as a rule took
place in the Chalkoprateia, but when the emperor wished, in the Blachernai

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[31]   See p. 138 below.

[32]   ἵνα meaning 'because' is only acknowledged by grammarians. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. II.2.

[33]   ἄνικμος is a rare word and in this connection (θείας δυνάμεως) far-fetched.

[34]   See the index of *Zufälliges*, s.v. Moses. Theod. Synk., 311.26–8, could have served as
model for this passage: Mary destroyed the fleet of the enemy not like Moses with his rod,
but by a nod of her head and by her will.

[35]   Mansi 13, 97D.8–10, and my remarks in *Artabasdos*, p. 171. This early Islamic
polemic is still awaiting study.

[36]   Τὸν ἱερὸν τουτονὶ καὶ σεβάσμιον αὐτῆς ναόν.

[37]   I do not know of any source for a threat of this kind. Cf. the claim in the *Diegesis*
(1365A, also *SEC* 902.10), saying that the Arabs had not kept their promise not to persecute
Christians.

[38]   Ἧς ὑπόμνημα τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς ἐτησίως ἱερὰν πανήγυριν καὶ πρὸς θεὸν
ὑμνῳδίαν πάννυχον ἄγωμεν.

church.[39] It needs, however, to be pointed out that this night service is part of the Koimesis festival. The commemoration of the siege of 717/18, on the other hand, is celebrated on 16 August.[40] A single memorial church is not mentioned in the liturgical sources; instead the Pharos church – in connection with the translation of the image of Christ from Edessa – is named for this day,[41] or the Jerusalem church by the Golden Gate, in connection with the main commemoration of the earthquake of 542.[42]

The latter commemoration refers only to a pannychis – expressly without the Patriarch – in Hagia Sophia and a subsequent procession to the Jerusalem church. Notably during the approach to the Golden Gate and at the moment of arrival the troparion Τεῖχος ἀκαταμάχητον is sung. This is more fitting for the commemoration of a siege than of an earthquake.[43] So one could assume that perhaps in 717/18, too, the Jerusalem church played a real or legendary role, which is not preserved by tradition.

All the same, if one accepts that the Jerusalem church was the place of commemoration of 717/18, one can form the opinion that the sermon by Germanos (who was present contrary to liturgical norms) was preached in Hagia Sophia. Germanos had portrayed the danger that the Arabs wanted to make Hagia Sophia a mosque in 717/18. Yet such a threat to Hagia Sophia[44]

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[39] *Homélie*, pp. 187 and 202 n. 1. According to the *Typicon of Hagia Sophia*, ed. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* (Rome, 1962), 1.368.19f (see also 369.13f), hereafter *Typicon*, and the so-called *Sabas-Typicon*, ed. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei* (Kiev, 1895) 1.105, hereafter *Sabas-Typicon*, the pannychis took place in the Chalkoprateia church. From the same somewhat unclear text of the *Sabas-Typicon* Grumel wrongly concludes it took place in Hagia Sophia. But people only gathered there, then headed for the forum and again back to the Chalkoprateia church (as on 25 March: *Typicon*, 254.7–9, *Sabas-Typicon*, 58, a reference I owe to A. Berger). On the emperor's wish, *De. Caerim*, 2.9, 541.14ff. (Bonn). Because of a typographical error Grumel gave 511 as the date of the emperors' bath in the Blachernai and through carelessness I came up with 551, *Zufälliges*, p. 131 n. 293. That is of course nonsense.

[40] Either the withdrawal of the Arabs did not take place on 15 August, but was only advanced to that date in the legend, or it did, yet the commemoration was postponed by a day, and so was not displaced by the Koimesis. The first possibility appears to me to be correct. See also *Zufälliges*, p. 130f. n. 293.

[41] *SEC*, 900.34f.

[42] *Typicon*, 372f., *Sabas-Typicon*, 106f. See also *Zufälliges*, p. 130f. n. 293.

[43] *Zufälliges*, ibid.

[44] Is it an allusion to the legend that an Arab gave the Great Church the name of simply Sophia? *Diegesis*, 1365c, *SEC*, 902.21f.

cannot be located in contemporary sources for 717/18. Something similar is true for the Jerusalem church. [216] No threat to it is known, even if one assumes a pannychis there.[45]

Yet this search for the 'historical' church in which Germanos preached is idle. Only one church in Constantinople was really threatened by the besiegers: the Blachernai church.

However, the threat did not exist in 717/18, but the church was, after the Avars lodged in it in 617,[46] apparently the most important object of attack in 626 and was preserved by none other than Mary herself.[47]

The author of the sermon applied this theme of the events of 626 to 717/18 and pretended that Germanos had preached in the Blachernai church[48] – as if the Arabs had therefore threatened to convert the church into a mosque. For this purpose, he chose 15 August instead of 16 August as the day of commemoration and turned the pannychis of the Koimesis into the pannychis of the siege.

It can be proved that the author really proceeded in this manner: The passage in the sermon about the annual commemoration is as follows:[49]

(§ 16) Ἡ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας καὶ ἀγαθότητος ὑπουργός, ἡ παναγία καὶ προσκυνητὴ Θεοτόκος, τὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντιλήψεως ἐπεδείξατο and destroyed (sc. 626) the fleet of the Slavs and dispersed the attack on the walls. (§ 17): οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ τηνικάδε (sc. 717/18) μεγάλην ἡμῖν καὶ παράδοξον ἡ πανύμνητος Θεοτόκος σωτηρίαν κεχάρισται, ἧς ὑπόμνημα τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς ἐτησίως ἱερὰν πανήγυριν καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑμνῳδίαν πάννυχον ἄγωμεν.

I do not wish to state an opinion about whether ἐτησίως, which must modify παροῦσαν, is very appropriate or whether it should be corrected to ἐτήσιον. For the subsequent argument, however, it is to be noted that of the pair of sentences quoted, the first is an intercession for 626, the second for 717/18.

The commemoration of the siege of 626 was celebrated on 7 August. The related report of the synaxarion of Constantinople concludes:[50]

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[45]   The origin could have been the legend of the visit to the city by the Arabs, *SEC*, 903.22–904.5.

[46]   On this question see *Zufälliges*, ch. 7.

[47]   That is the tendency of Synkellos and George of Pisidia, cf. *Zufälliges*, pp. 49f. and 51f.

[48]   To this extent the sermon of course fails to be proof that the commemoration of the siege of 717/18 was celebrated in the Blachernai church, as I myself assumed in *Zufälliges*, pp. 130f. n. 293.

[49]   As in n. 38 above.

[50]   *SEC*, 874.28–876.3.

Οὕτως ἡ παναγία καὶ ὑπεράμωμος Θεοτόκος, ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀντίληψις, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπεδείξατο καὶ τὴν μεγάλην [217] καὶ παράδοξον σωτηρίαν ταύτην ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο. Διὰ ταῦτα τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάμνησιν ἐτησίως πάντες πανηγυρίζομεν ἐν τῷ σεβασμίῳ αὐτῆς οἴκῳ τῷ ὄντι ἐν Βλαχέρναις.

The fact that the two texts are related leaps out straight away. But since the sermon recollects two events, the one from 626 and the other from 717/18, the model for the sermon should be sought in the text of the synaxarion, and by no means should the sermon be considered the model for the synaxarion. Consistent with this conclusion is that in the synaxarion ἐτησίως is more meaningfully constructed. On the other hand, the text of the synaxarion cannot have been the direct prototype for the sermon. For that the use of ἀντίληψις is too divergent.

The end of the report of the year 626 in the *Diegesis*[51] runs as follows:[52]

Οὕτως ἡ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας καὶ ἀγαθότητος ὑπουργός, ἡ παναγία καὶ ὑπεράμωμος Θεοτόκος, ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κραταιὰ ἀντίληψις, τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντιλήψεως τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπεδείξατο· οὕτω μεγάλην ἡμῖν καὶ παράδοξον τὴν σωτηρίαν κεχάρισται, ἧστινος εὐεργεσίας εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τὴν παροῦσαν ἐτησίως πανδημεὶ σύναξιν ποιοῦμεν καὶ παννύχιον ἄγομεν ἑορτὴν εὐχαριστηρίους ᾠδὰς αὐτῇ προσφέροντες.

This is doubtless the partially verbatim template for the text of the sermon; template primarily because – as said before – the sermon refers to two events (626 and 717/18), while the reverse assumption, that the sermon was the source for the synaxarion and the *Diegesis*, is difficult to conceive. The only thing that the author of the sermon did was to reach for a higher level of style – from ἀνάμνησις to ὑπόμνημα. In doing so while aiming for stylistic effect, he lapsed into blunders. In the *Diegesis*, ἐτησίως still modifies ποιοῦμεν but stands next to παροῦσαν; the author of the sermon puts it there, indeed has to put it there, since he cannot write liturgical instructions for each and every year, but just one sermon.

These considerations lead inevitably to the conclusion that the first part of the *Diegesis*, was, as already proposed,[53] an independent synaxarion for

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[51] Originally probably the end of an independent synaxarion. See the appendix.
[52] 1364A/B.
[53] See n. 51 above.

7 August, which became a source for further notices given in synaxaria, like the synaxarion of Constantinople. Thus it becomes clear that the sermon in the Blachernai church probably was preached during a midnight mass, as is self-evident for the commemoration of the events of 626, but extraordinary for the events of 717/18.

[218] The question of the place of the commemoration has thus made it certain that the sermon is hardly a work by Germanos but rather has to be dated after the first part of the *Diegesis*, which is a synaxarion of 7 August, whose concluding sentence is adopted nearly verbatim in the sermon. Unfortunately, this synaxarion in the *Diegesis* is not datable, so that a *terminus post quem* for the sermon cannot be found. In principle, the synaxarion could already have existed before 717/18, so that the proven dependence does not necessarily rule out Germanos as the author of the sermon. Yet the question is whether such a 'literary exercise' can be attributed to an eye-witness a few years after the event. We will furthermore find indications in what follows that firmly date the sermon to a few years after 717/18, so that even from this point of view Germanos' authorship is to be ruled out.

Of course, this dependence does not prove that the surviving synaxarion in the *Diegesis* actually was the source. Some passages or thoughts from Synkellos and George of Pisidia have been pointed out as possible sources for the sermon up to this point. Conceivably the thoughts of the two authors could have been available in a comprehensive synaxarion that was the source for the synaxarion in the *Diegesis*, so that the author of the sermon also used this comprehensive synaxarion and not both authors' ideas directly. Yet this raises the question who had evaluated the two authors without being able to date the reception of these two accurately or give details at all.

With regard to the genuineness of the sermon, nothing changes. Instead this dependence makes clear that to a large extent the author relied on thoughts and texts related to the events of 626 for information about the year 717 and, therefore, did not compose an original document at all.

§ 14: The Egyptians have suffered the same at the hands of Moses. They considered his rod at best a cane that could be burned. But they had to gain another experience.

The Egyptians are now ridiculed with rhetorical finesse (cane). This serves as a first hint of the second part of the story about the passage through the Red Sea.

Thus it also befell those who nowadays take after the Egyptians in their godlessness and say about Christ, 'I do not know the Lord', and take

Mary for a woman who can praise herself for helping but cannot actually help.

[219] The fact that the Arabs never regarded Christ as God and Mary therefore never as the mother of God whose intercession was effective, does not help in establishing a date. On the other hand, this passage naturally should not be cited as evidence for an early Islamic polemic, since it surely does not belong in the eighth century (and cannot be assigned a precise later date). Apart from this, the hostility of the Arabs towards Mary is very old.[54]

§ 15: They might have been able to understand, had they not closed their ears and rejected the Logos[55] that proclaimed to them the truth about the power in the rod. With this rod Moses had already delivered his people and brought disaster to the enemy along with their leader.

The allegory of the passage through the Red Sea continues with another forecast of the ultimate catastrophe.

§ 16: This is not the first time that the power of this rod revealed itself. It already had done so when the Avars besieged the city, bringing many siege engines and a great number of ships that they had built themselves[56] and manned with Slavs. They launched them on the waters of the Golden Horn in the belief that they could take the city without a fight, since it did not yet have seawalls.

It is noticeable that the author of the sermon does not mention the first Arab siege. Possibly the sermon stems from a time when the canonical number of three sieges, evident in the contemporary *Diegesis* and in the Akathistos synaxarion, had not yet developed. However, the introduction of this number cannot be dated, either. Yet the assumption is further supported that the author of the sermon still used the first part of the *Diegesis* separately.

Since the sermon does report events in 626, the siege engines are appropriate at this instance in contrast to the view above.[57]

The fact that the city did not have seawalls facing the Golden Horn in 626 is simply wrong.[58] An explanation for this claim can first of all be given in general terms: the author of the sermon knew something about sources for 626,

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[54] See n. 35 above.
[55] Write: τὸν (δι' αὐτῶν...)
[56] See p. 123 above, n. 3.
[57] See p. 127.
[58] See p. 123 above, n. 6.

among them a notice that the walls of Herakleios owed their existence to the attacks of the Avars. He then confused the walls of Herakleios, which only closed off the western part of the Blachernai area and the church of Mary, with the long before existing [220] seawalls, and made out of both of them a seawall built at one time – after 626.

If one interprets the text of the sermon accordingly, the result is that to the author's knowledge the walls of Herakleios were built after 626. The sermon would therefore be proof for this date for the Herakleian wall, although the accompanying buildings probably were started in 617, just after the attack of the Avars. At least I would assume this, although I could not prove it beyond a doubt.[59]

However this would not say much. For either the author has used a source that placed the beginning of the construction of the wall of Herakleios after 626[60] or he has actually not thought about it at all, which seems more likely to fit his methods, and has simply declared the wall of Herakleios and the seawall as one and the same construction and let them both not yet exist in order to make Mary an even more effective rescuer.

The text of the *Diegesis* appears to have helped him make this 'mistake'. This is another reason that he has perused it.

Regarding the naval attack of the Slavs in the Golden Horn, the *Diegesis* says:[61] Who can tell the tale of Mary's deed? When the khagan filled the Golden Horn with boats and with his soldiers (advancing in a general attack),[62] ἐπειρᾶτο διὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμούντων εἰς γῆν τὰ τείχη καταβαλεῖν[63] τῆς

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[59]   Contrary to *Zufälliges*, pp. 36–38, I no longer see any difficulty in the position of the church of St Nicholas. This church was probably outside the gate of the northern part of the complex (see the plan in *Zufälliges*, p. 37. Cf. most recently G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), p. 338. This is the gate that Anna Komnena (X, 9: II, 87.14–16 ed. Reifferscheid=II, 221.26–29 ed. Leib) mentions. Outside this gate stood the embolos of St Nicholas, perhaps along the street to the Kosmidion. The Armenians burned it after they ἐξῆλθαν ... τὸ τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν (*Chron. Pasch.*, 724.11). It is certain that this does not refer to the old eastern walls of Blachernai, since the embolos was near the sea, but the Armenians did not fall upon another wall after they abandoned the Blachernai walls. But in connection with the 'coming out' this only makes sense if at that time the walls of Herakleios already covered the whole area east of the old eastern Blachernai walls.

[60]   As in *Chron. Pasch.*, 726.14f.

[61]   1360D/1361A.

[62]   The text has a lacuna that can be filled meaningfully as proposed.

[63]   More likely: καταλαβεῖν.

πόλεως. διὰ δὲ τῶν ναυμαχούντων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Κέρατος εὐχερῆ τὴν κατ' αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἀπόβασιν.

The author of the *Diegesis* thus had a correct notion of the khagan's plan and of the possibility of defending the city; namely that the sea wall was relatively easy to overcome, if [221] attacked in force and simultaneously an attack on the land wall would ensure that the land wall would not be strongly manned. However, the author phrases these things so that the word 'wall' is used only for the land side, while he speaks of a 'simple' 'landing' or 'capture' in relation to the side of the Golden Horn. That way the author of the sermon can use his source to arrive at the conclusion that there actually was no sea wall.

> Yet Mary[64] showed her might and destroyed the enemy at sea not with a human hand (οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ χειρί) but invisibly (ἀοράτῳ προσβολῇ). and she caused the attack on the land walls to fail.

Both the fact that Mary fought alone and indirectly (also invisibly)[65] and the failure of the land attack already appear in Synkellos and George of Pisidia.[66]

§ 17: Mary thus granted to us the deliverance whose commemoration we wish to celebrate and to present a night-long hymn to God (καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ὑμνῳδίαν πάννυχον ἄγωμεν).

In addition to the details already given above on the night-time celebration,[67] one should also add that the formulation transferred from the first part of the *Diegesis* does not refer to 626 but – even if perhaps not originally intended as such – alludes to the night-time singing of the Akathistos Hymn.

In fact, it is unknown when the legend arose that Patriarch Sergios sang the Akathistos along with the people in the night immediately after the Avars' withdrawal. This legend is not found in the first part of the *Diegesis*, as I have noted; however, it is part of the title[68] and text of the Akathistos synaxarion.[69] The legend seems to be fairly late, even if only a relative chronology for its

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[64] For an extended citation from this passage, see p. 130 above.

[65] The thought appears already in § 9; see p. 125f. above.

[66] See *Zufälliges*, pp. 49 and 51f.

[67] See pp. 128–32.

[68] 1353/4C: ... ἡ δὲ πόλις ... ἐτησίως ἔκτοτε ᾄδει εὐχαριστήριον ἀκάθιστον τὴν ἡμέραν κατονομάζουσα. This title was then given later to the first part of the *Diegesis*, but before this part was enlarged with the two others to the combination of the three sieges; see the appendix below.

[69] 1352B.

emergence is discernible. No corresponding legend exists for 717/18 and Patriarch Germanos.[70]

On the other hand, it seems sure that it was Germanos who composed [222] the second proem to the Akathistos (τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ)[71] and did so particularly to establish Mary's role in the defense of the city. Consequently, the Akathistos really did play a role as a song of thanksgiving for the deliverance of 717/18, but a role that slipped into oblivion, so that then the legend involving Patriarch Sergios could arise, with 626 virtually offering a prototype for the deliverance of the city through Mary.

But is it plausible under these circumstances that Patriarch Germanos, who probably turned the Akathistos into a hymn of thanksgiving, described these important events using a sentence that is meaningless in relation to the Akathistos, or even worse: did he take this sentence from a source?

Therefore it can be definitely concluded that the sermon does not stem from Germanos and that the first part of the *Diegesis*, the synaxarion for the year 626, was also not necessarily available by 717/18, though that would have had to be the case if the sermon were genuine, since the borrowing of the last sentence is beyond doubt. Thus the sermon, like the first part of the *Diegesis*, is a later work, not datable before the late ninth century, as is shown below.

> But in our time everything was greater and more significant (than in 626). For now the enemy threatened us just as the Pharaoh in his time and made us despair when he encircled the city by sea and land. Yet Mary strove all the more to deliver us.

Apart from the untypical statement about the investment of the city by land and sea, one that is, of course, used for 626, too,[72] the paragraph gives no information.

§ 18: Mary did not even allow one hostile projectile to reach the walls. The same way she saved τὸ ἄφθορον when giving birth to Christ, now she saved τὸ ἀπολέμητον for us and kept all destruction far from the walls (διαφθορᾶς ἁπάσης ἀμέτοχον τὸ τῆς πόλεως στεφάνωμα συντηρήσασα).

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[70] At best a stylistic allusion to the Akathistos, see *Zufälliges*, p. 141 n. 331, is found at the end of the *Diegesis*.

[71] *Artabasdos*, p. 170f., with the author's supplement, 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΛΥΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (1984), pp. 211–72, esp. 268f. n. 124.

[72] E.g. *SEC*, 872.9f.

Here even more than in §9 above there is an allusion to verses 4–7 from the introduction to the *Bellum Avaricum* of George of Pisidia. Mary conquers τὴν φύσιν/τόκῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μάχῃ τὸ δεύτερον. As then she delivered ἀσπόρως, so now she had to bring us deliverance ἀόπλως. This special role of Mary is repeatedly emphasized in the poem by George of Pisidia.[73]

[223] The author of the sermon could emphasize this double function of Mary's in reaching (or stumbling on) the conclusion that in 717/18, in contrast to 626, no storming of the walls took place.

He could have consulted the sources available to him (and to us), in which indeed no attack on the walls is recorded.[74] Further, statements like those in the *Diegesis* for 717/18[75] might have inspired him: the Χριστομάχοι (the Arabs) built their camp in front of the town τέως μὲν οὐδεμίαν προβολὴν τοῖς τείχεσι προσῆγον διὰ τὸ σχολάζειν ἐπὶ κτίσεως οἰκημάτων ὡς οἶκον μένοντες.[76] Where this remark in the *Diegesis* came from – perhaps from the legend about the Arabs' visit to the city – is irrelevant for our question. It is important, however, that the *Diegesis* does not report an attack on the walls, meaning that the author could maintain his ἀπολέμητον in good faith.

If the author actually was inspired by this remark in the third part of the *Diegesis*, this does not mean that – contrary to what was supposed above[77] – he used the *Diegesis* in the form in which it exists today. Besides, the third part was probably originally an independent account of the events of 717/18.

> Mary means everything to us. She has not only given birth to Christ but also expelled the enemy. She destroyed them along with their ships at sea by means of fire (κἀκείνους μὲν ἐν θαλάσσῃ αὐταῖς ναυσὶ πυρπολήσασα) and saved us from bloodshed and imprisonment.

Here Mary's two-fold function of deliverance is linked to the destruction of a part of the Arab fleet in the Sea of Marmara.[78] Consistent with the

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[73] See *Zufälliges*, pp. 49f. and 51f.

[74] He naturally could not have known that in Theophanes the particular account of the siege is preserved in mutilated form and was unified with other texts as a synaxarion, as I will show in my forthcoming work on Leo III. For the synaxarion, see the Appendix.

[75] 1365B.

[76] The end is incomprehensible. Perhaps οἶκοι μενοῦντες (with the intent of living here?).

[77] See p. 132 above.

[78] Cf. Theoph. 396₇–10: since here the explanation is a wind, in the *Diegesis*, 1368A, the story will become one of a catastrophic storm.

interpretation of the victory in the Golden Horn in 626 as solely Mary's deed, the use of Greek fire is overlooked here as it is also in Theophanes.

§19:   Earlier, pillars of fire and smoke separated the Israelites and the Egyptians. In our time, the bright cloud of deliverance came between us and the enemy and thus turned into a wall [224] for us. Thus during the whole siege period there were no battles. Mary impeded the enemy permanently, so that they finally had to withdraw. They did this on the day of her metastasis. Hence it became even clearer that she is the Mother of Christ and our deliverance.

Since the withdrawal of the Arabs on 15 August cannot be definitely proven as legendary,[79] this should not be taken as indication of the inauthenticity of the sermon. Otherwise, the paragraph introduces no new information.

§ 20:   The Egyptians, who pursued the Israelites, drowned in the Red Sea. The Arabs suffered the same: a storm destroyed their entire fleet on the way home. The corpses washed up on all coasts.

With perfect rhetorical skill the author has held back the second part of the story of the passage through the Red Sea to the end and likewise indicated the destruction of the Arab fleet on their way home. This interpretation receives its initial expression in 626 – the Golden Horn turns into the Red Sea[80] – and in 717/18 it can easily be superimposed on the catastrophic end of the Arab expedition.

On the other hand, a final argument against the authenticity of the sermon emerges here. Even if cited by all sources known to us,[81] the catastrophe suffered by the fleet should definitely be regarded as a later legend that apparently was invented not only because of the parallels to the catastrophe of the Slavic fleet in 626, but also in order to be able to incorporate the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea allegorically.

The author of the sermon does not mention a detail that otherwise is introduced in the sources, namely that during the catastrophe some were able to save themselves 'to bring the news about the catastrophe to the world'. Since

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[79]   See n. 40 above.

[80]   Cf. *Zufälliges*, index s.v. Meer, Rotes.

[81]   Theoph. 399.5–10 (a synaxarion; see the Appendix), *Niceph. brev.*, ed C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 55.13–19, *Diegesis* 1368C, Akathistos Synaxarion 1353A, *SEC*, 904.10–18.

in a few versions, the *Diegesis* being one of them,[82] the purpose of this deliverance is no longer mentioned, one does not have to assume the author had access to yet another source. It is enough to assume that he simply omitted the pointless deliverance of the few ships, because it made no sense to him and, furthermore, he would have come to the conclusion that following the passage through the Red Sea everybody died.

[225] Now that the analysis has shown that the sermon is not the work of Germanos, two points require brief attention.

If the date is late, failure to mention the emperor (that is Leo III) is all too understandable. In the case of such an exclusive focus on Mary an emperor is superfluous, especially if he had so poor a reputation as Leo III.

Suggesting that the adoration of Mary intensified from 626 to 717/18 is, of course, invalid and only a misunderstanding of the thoroughly worked out rhetorical structure of the sermon, which in fact does not exceed the rhetorical mariology of Synkellos and George of Pisidia.

The sermon has altogether no further hope of ranking as genuine and, therefore, as a source for the siege of 717/18. It was essentially composed in accordance with the sources for 717/18 that are also known to us, and especially in accordance with those for 626, and if it attains any distinctiveness it is in the rhetorical and allegorical depiction of the events.

Unfortunately this composition cannot be dated, since many other texts, whose dates would be important, are either undatable – like the first part of the *Diegesis* – or, are from such an early date – like the destruction of the Arab fleet on the way home, already found in Theophanes – that one cannot utilize them.

The only hint of a date could perhaps derive from the observation that was the start for this essay: the high stylistic level of the sermon. Since there is now no longer any reason to date the sermon directly after 717/18, one would not be amiss in placing it with its stylistic ambitions at the height of the Byzantine renaissance. The middle of the ninth century might then be seen as *terminus post quem*.[83] To put it the other way round, one cannot conclude from this sermon that there was writing in the style of the Second Sophistic era at the beginning of the eighth century. This would contradict all the knowledge that we have gained from the literature of this period.[84] On the contrary: since this

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[82] See the Appendix below.
[83] At this time the so-called Macedonian renaissance reached its first pinnacle. See the author's *Ikonoklasmus*, pp. 192 and 202.
[84] Ibid., p. 189f.

sermon is the only work in this style that is assumed to be a composition of the eighth century[85] and since it was actually written later, one does not have to alter the picture of eighth-century literature.

One question still remains: is this sermon simply a rhetorical classroom exercise ('which words would Germanos have said ...') which for some reason was regarded as authentic and, therefore, preserved, [226] or is some (conscious or unconscious) hidden tendency at work?

In the sermon Patriarch Germanos shows himself as a master of Atticizing prose and Sophistic rhetoric. On the other hand, the educational catastrophe of the 'Dark Ages', which essentially consisted of a breakdown of the tradition of high Attic literature, is attributed to a devious hostility of culture on the part of the iconoclasts, who ostentatiously destroyed a flourishing intellectual life with one blow.[86] But Patriarch Germanos is the very man who turned against the iconoclasts and became their first prominent victim. Is it not fitting that Germanos a victim of the iconoclasts possessed the highest Attic learning? Could this not be proof, therefore, that this highest learning was alive in Byzantium down to the beginning of iconoclasm?

Whether the author of the sermon had such thoughts we will, of course, never know.

APPENDIX

THE SYNAXARIA OF THE SIEGES OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The dependencies of the various synaxarion reports on the sieges of Constantinople and their dates are ascertainable only with difficulty. Here I wish to offer only a few observations relevant to this examination. For more, again see *Zufälliges*, particularly p. 58f.

It seems definite that the first part of the *Diegesis* (see the bibliography in n. 19) originally was an independent synaxarion for 626. The title (1353/4C) and also the original conclusion (1364A/B) indicate this. This synaxarion was

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[85]   See the Appendix below.
[86]   *Ikonoklasmus*, p. 199.

extended at a later date by including the synaxaria of the two Arab sieges. So it looks as if the synaxarion of the second siege had already existed previously as an independent synaxarion, while because of its brevity and its lack of content, the synaxarion about the first siege was probably composed when the wish emerged to preserve a threefold account of the sieges in a common synaxarion.

An original version of the synaxarion of the second Arab siege is already present in Theophanes (especially 399.5–19, describing the withdrawal on 15 August, the storm on the way home, and the deliverance of 10 ships to bring news of the disaster). Concerning the number of ships, given as 1,800, the *Diegesis* (1365B) refers to οἱ τὰς χρονικὰς συντάξεις πεφιλοπονηκότες, and therefore probably to Theophanes. Yet this reference tells us nothing about the date of the synaxarion.

This version was expanded with a few legends (e.g. the Arabs' visit to the city), while other details were no longer understandable. The synaxarion of Constantinople still is aware that the ten ships were rescued in order to spread the news about the catastrophe, but the *Diegesis* (1368C) mentions the rescue of ten ships, and the Akathistos synaxarion (1353A) three, without stating any purpose for their rescue.

The Akathistos synaxarion depends on the *Diegesis*. In Theophanes (396.18–21) Leo III has the chain in front of the Golden Horn retracted, but the Arabs see through the ruse and do not fall into the trap.

[227] The *Diegesis* makes this event seem as though the Arabs and their fleet made for Blachernai (! – a detail borrowed from 626), but were hindered by the chain (1368A). In the Akathistos synaxarion the Arabs being hindered by the chain looks rather out of context (1352D; the same at *SEC*, 902.30–2.)

Yet this dependence is not direct. For example, the synaxarion is still aware of the information that Herakleios had the treasures of the church melted down and coined (1349A following Theophanes 303.1–3ff.), whereas this information does not appear in the *Diegesis*.

In the *Diegesis* the synaxarion of 626 refers in broad strokes to the sermon of Theodore Synkellos and the *Chronicon Paschale* but also displays many misinterpretations. Thus the images that Patriarch Sergios had placed on the city gates (Theodore Synkellos 304.4–12; see *Zufälliges*, p. 135 n. 310 and p. 136 n. 318) turn into a first procession with images (1356D; afterwards the Akathistos synaxarion 1349C), while in the second procession in addition to the original image of Christ (*Zufälliges*, p. 27f.) Mary's robe (*Zufälliges*, p. 136 n. 317 – the dress might belong to the procession of 860) and the relics of the

cross were paraded around. Contrary to the line of argument I developed in *Zufälliges*, p. 58f., I now assume that the relics of the cross were an original detail for 717/18 and served as the starting point for the other instances; cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 164. Here, too, the Akathistos synaxarion (1349C) depends on the *Diegesis*. Yet for the reasons given, this text was hardly composed before the middle of the ninth century.

Without a critical edition of the entire material a further-ranging analysis of this text seems impossible.

THE TEXT ΠΕΡΙ ΟΡΩΝ ΖΩΗΣ

The text Περὶ ὅρων ζωῆς was recently edited by C. Garton and L. Westerink again as a work by Germanos (*Germanos on Predestined Terms of Life*, Arethusa Monographs VII [Buffalo, 1979]), but it is also recorded to be *Amphilochia* 149 of Photios. The text takes the form of a Platonic dialogue. Neglecting stylistic considerations, this is reason enough to reject Germanos' authorship. It still needs to be established whether it belongs to Photios. Who, for instance, are the λογιώτατοι at 4.17? (Cf. 6.12f.) The reason this dialogue could be ascribed to Germanos can only be clarified, if one can say, as with the homily, that Germanos was truly regarded as the last representative of education before iconoclasm.

Finally, Mr. W. Lackner, whom I now wish to thank, has brought the vita of Gregory of Nyssa (*BHG* 717) to my attention, into which are incorporated arguments from the *Antapodotikos* of Germanos (cf. W. Lackner, 'Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis für den Antapodotikos des Patriarchen Germanos I. von Konstantinopel', *Byz.* 38 (1968), pp. 42–104). The assumption that the author was a contemporary of Germanos (Lackner pp. 75–78) is not necessary, however; both the unfulfilled attempt to write in a high style, in a rough Attic, and the allusion to Heliodoros (p. 58 n. 1) speak rather against this conclusion.

The Origins of the Byzantine Renaissance

Die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance

[555] It would be a hard, thankless and superfluous task if one tried to coordinate conferences and one's own research so that one could always present new and important findings. In the summer of 1984 I published an essay, 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance'[1] in which I already presented everything that I can say on the theme of the present conference, 'The Origins of the Byzantine Renaissance'. Since every delegate has the conference proceedings and therefore has that publication to hand I think it unnecessary to repeat myself, even in different words. It would be irresponsible from the point of view of accurate scholarly citation as well as from the point of view of the trees which would have to be cut down for the second edition.

Similarly, I cannot offer any bibliography, since I have tried to incorporate it into my report.

Anyway, since 1971 scholars have tended to rely on Paul Lemerle's *Premier Humanisme*,[2] though Lemerle actually does not attempt to give an historical explanation of the Byzantine renaissance. One can happily ignore most of the literature, because the authors of this put themselves out of the subject area of discussion.[3] At least scholars have recently agreed that the renaissance had already begun in the last decades of the eighth century, even if they rarely give specific reasons.[4]

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[1] [572] R.-J. Lilie and Speck, *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (Bonn, 1984), pp. 175–210, hereafter *Ikonoklasmus*.

[2] Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 6; Paris, 1971).

[3] It would be impolite to name any examples. The authors themselves will know whether they are included.

[4] W.T. Treadgold, 'The Revival of Byzantine Learning and the Revival of the

As my theory is so new that I cannot yet reply to critical objections, [556] allow me to pursue my research and to build a broader foundation for my conclusions.

The key point of my attempt to move the origins of the Byzantine renaissance to the end of the eighth century is the recognition that the effects of the great disasters that had haunted the empire in the sixth and seventh centuries had been so thoroughly assimilated that they would provoke a reaction that went beyond mere defensiveness.

The so-called iconoclasm, which was the first attempt of this kind, had the ideological purpose of restoring the ancient empire with the help of the cross. This original iconoclasm quite soon failed due to an amalgamation of this original purpose with religious issues, and personal problems of Constantine V: the ancient empire was not restorable.

The Byzantines had to come to terms with the fact that on the territory of the Roman Empire other empires had now emerged – Arabs and Franks – and that with regard to Greek and Latin culture they had made their own claims to be Rome's successors.

In response to these claims, the Byzantines insisted on the uniqueness of their own culture, by representing it as something distinctive that had been preserved unbroken since Late Antiquity. Therefore, especially in literature, people took up all the threads that had been broken in the seventh century. But where this proved impossible and a break in cultural tradition had to be admitted, it was not the great catastrophes that were blamed for this cultural setback, but rather the iconoclasts. Iconoclasm and the beginnings of the Byzantine renaissance are joined together in numerous, complex ways. But all other political developments are significant, too.

Already around 790, one can point out a group of people who sought through literature to overcome the dark ages: the imperial secretary Nikephoros, later patriarch, who was politically on the side of Constantine VI, and George Synkellos, who had come to Constantinople from the Holy Land with many

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Byzantine State', *American Historical Review* 84 (1979), pp. 1245–66, sees the beginning of the renaissance in 780, in the activity of iconophiles in the ruling stratum, who were successful in administration thanks to their education. This is all too vague and abstract. The most recent work by this author on the same theme appeared in *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* [Stanford, 1984] which was not available to me during the preparation of this talk.

drafts of historical works. Around 800 the renaissance received a further impulse, this time from Theodore of Stoudios, promoted by Eirene. Around 815 the four iconoclast poets John, Ignatios, Sergios, and Stephen appear, who made further contributions, and again Theodore of Stoudios, who refuted them. This whole polemic appeared in epigrams on the Chalke which [557] served not only as a 'noticeboard' conveying views on the beliefs of the Palace but also as a place of publication for some important works of the early renaissance.

Two iconoclasts who were converted later are important for further developments. I am thinking of Leo the Mathematician, with whom I will deal elsewhere,[5] and Ignatios the Deacon, significant not least because he wrote in most literary genres.

The very complicated question of the biography of Ignatios was clarified somewhat by Cyril Mango.[6] At the turn of the ninth century he was a deacon. Sometime after 829 he was deacon and skeuophylax; until 843 he was bishop of Nicaea and after 843 a monk. The *Suda* calls him 'grammatikos' as well, but one cannot clarify whether he was a grammarian as well as a deacon or whether he first was a grammarian and then became a deacon.[7]

After 843 Ignatios wrote two encomiastic vitae about the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros.[8] Significantly, they were the very men who either restored the cult of images in 787 or in 815 had to cease supporting the cult.

Since the work of Ernst von Dobschütz it should be clear that both vitae

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[5]   See n. 66 below. My point here is only that everything that we believe we know about him concerning the period before 843 is later legend.

[6]   'Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea (first half of the ninth century)', in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Texte und Untersuchungen 124; Berlin, 1981), pp. 403–10.

[7]   The passage from the *vita* of Tarasios that is conclusive in regard to his being the stenographer of Tarasios (see below) does not establish that he was a deacon. On the other hand, there are cases of priests who were teachers at the same time. His anacreontic verses and epigrams to his student Paul surely come from his time as a teacher (*grammatikos*).

[8]   The *vita* of Nikephoros, in fact a funeral oration, probably was delivered right after the death of Nikephoros in 828. It gives the author, Ignatios, the titles of deacon and skeuophylax. The approximately contemporary *vita* of Tarasios calls Ignatios a monk. One should not conclude from this that the life of Nikephoros should be placed even earlier, just that the funeral oration was a fiction and that the titles Ignatios held right after Nikephoros' death were noted. One should also conclude that Ignatios thus was actually a deacon and skeuophylax in 828.

are very strongly influenced by political propaganda.[9] In evaluating the vitae one should also remember that Ignatios was a former iconoclast and one of the chief representatives of the Byzantine renaissance. In any case, I think it is quite dangerous to take any statement in the vitae at face value without checking whether the historical truth has not been falsified for any of the already stated reasons. This recently happened regarding the activities of Tarasios in connection with the decoration of the churches in 787.[10] However, I consider it wrong to regard Ignatios as a liar. His 'untruths' can be explained by a mix of propaganda, self-justification, and even his own perception of what he thought was 'historical truth' – hardly provable – under the criteria of rhetoric and historiography.

Through a partial analysis of the *Life* of Tarasios[11] I will try to give further explanation of important historical points in the early period of the Byzantine renaissance.

After a few introductory remarks Ignatios refers to Tarasios' father and has the following story to report about him:[12]

(2.8–34) He was a very fair judge. He once passed a judgement that the rulers ignored: some women were said to have broken into houses through holes or [558] even through walls and to have killed infants. People who believed in these myths and not the ἀφαντασιάστῳ teaching of Christ brought them to trial. (Ignatios turns the tables: normally the iconoclasts compared the iconophiles to the believers of the old myths, the ancient Greeks, because of the images.) Among the Hellenes, Ignatios explains,[13] there is the Γελλώ

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[9]   'Methodios und die Studiten', *Byz. Zeitschr.* 18 (1909), pp. 41–106, esp. 53–59 on Ignatios the Deacon and the two *vitae* (hereafter: von Dobschütz).

[10]   W. Wolska-Conus, 'Un programme iconographique du patriarche Tarasios', *Revue des Etudes byzantines* 38 (1980) 247–54, hereafter Wolska-Conus; I. Ševčenko in a still unpublished essay, 'A Program of Church Decoration Soon [573] After 787 According to the *Vita Tarasii* of Ignatius the Deacon?' presented in the course of the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 1984. Both apparently remained unaware of von Dobschütz and the present author's *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), p. 686 n. 55 (hereafter *Konstantin VI.*).

[11]   Cited after the edition of I.A. Heikel, *Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani* (Helsingfors, 1889), with its own pagination.

[12]   See also *Konstantin VI.*, p. 67.

[13]   This is one of many indications that the Byzantine renaissance has nothing in common with Classical Antiquity.

who together with φαντάσμασι[14] killed newborn children. These women apparently had been witches of that kind.[15]

Ignatios thinks that this is bad. One has to believe that a solid body can become a spirit and pass through the walls of houses. (Here Ignatios pretends that he is thinking critically, in the ancient sense). That is how the father of Tarasios thought too: Christ, too, must be regarded as a φάντασμα. But Christ was actually flesh and bone as his disciples can prove and is not ascribed to the φαντασίας ἀνυπαρξία.[16] On the basis of these arguments the father lets the women go free.

If Christ was not actually a man, he must have been a ghost: this was an argument of Theodore of Stoudios, who used it during iconoclasm in connection with the often advanced argument that Christ's humanity justified his being depicted.[17]

Applying it to the present case, we have so to speak the invention of an iconoclast justice system by Ignatios. That is to say, Justice has to believe in ghosts because she believes in Christ. Yet the father of Tarasios thinks the thoughts of Theodore long before the latter can express them.

The emperor, who supported the φαντασιῶδες, let the judgement stand. Nevertheless, he tortured the father severely (ἐσχάτως ἠκίσατο).

Ignatios knows that Tarasios' father was no martyr for the cause of images,[18] and he cannot just claim this because it could be checked. But being persecuted for justice's sake – that could be claimed, especially as, due to the digression on ghostlike qualities, he was also linked with those persecuted for the sake of icons.

There is no doubt that Ignatios fabricated the whole story.

That is not all: the father of the patriarch Nikephoros also belonged to

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[14] Here as in many places the text of the *Vita* is out of order. Wolska-Conus has improved it in many passages which she cites.

[15] This passage is plainly no indication of the survival of the Γελλώ, as has often been said, just of Ignatios' classicizing education. See already von Dobschütz, p. 53 and n. 6.

[16] Here, too, the text appears to be out of order. The reference is probably to John 20.24–29, the story of doubting Thomas and Christ passing through τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων. But the line of argument is unclear because of the implied aspects relating to the theology of images.

[17] Cf. the author's *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Supp. Byz. 1; Berlin, 1968), p. 183 ad iamb. 34.4, hereafter *Jamben*.

[18] Actual martyrs from the first iconoclasm are hard to find; see *Ikonoklasmus*, p. 185.

the persecuted,[19] and so both patriarchs had parents who had suffered under Constantine V. What about Theodore of Stoudios? His father remained loyal[20] and his mother went into the monastery with her children only after 780.[21] No, Theodore does not stem from martyred parents.

On the basis of his moral qualities, Tarasios becomes *protasekretis*. He fares brilliantly in the palace, since he [559] had a complete grasp of both the θεῖα μαθήματα and the θύραθεν παιδεία. (3.3f). He recognised the practicality especially of the latter, to straighten the twisted, extinguish the barbarism and impose precision on language.

These thoughts had doubtless been expressed dozens of times in Late Antiquity. But the first who had given voice to them in the Byzantine renaissance was Theodore of Stoudios.[22] Tarasios, who had no interest in literature and the Byzantine renaissance, has to surpass the Studite in the *Vita*. After Tarasios became patriarch,[23] he held all the virtues that distinguish monks in the highest esteem (7.20–9.15). This, too, is aimed against Theodore.

Tarasios founded a monastery on the Bosporus (9.16–22). The family of Theodore had done the same in Sakkoudion. Many bishops came from this monastery (9.22–28), who later proved themselves during the revival of iconoclasm. In total opposition to the historical Tarasios, who at the council of 787 used every trick to prevent the assignation of even a few episcopal sees to the monks around Sabas the Studite,[24] the Tarasios of the *Vita* acted entirely in favour of the monks.

During the dismissal of the council in the church of the Apostles everybody fled. Only Tarasios (10.11–15) showed no fear and he celebrated the liturgy to the end. Tarasios surely surpassed Plato, the uncle of Theodore, who was

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[19] He was probably in fact forbidden from entering Constantinople – though not because he was an iconophile; see *Konstantin VI.*, p. 67f.

[20] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 67.

[21] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 114.

[22] Cf. *Ikonoclasmus*, p. 209 n. 14.

[23] See *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 134–39; for Ignatios, also p. 538 n. 259. Much of what Ignatios presents in the *Vita*, such as Tarasios' piety and prayers, probably also wards off complaints against his being nominated *per saltum*: 'he was a layman who was actually a priest.' But these complaints were not contemporary. They were first raised against Nikephoros in 806 and subsequently also against Tarasios. Cf. *Konstantin VI.*, p. 538 n. 259.

[24] *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 154–59. Naturally Ignatios praises his οἰκονομία in the strongest terms. (11.13–12.7)

also at the council.[25] At the council itself, however, they all are of the same opinion without exception (11.11–17). Yet Theodore of Stoudios at a later point doubted the ecumenical nature of the council, for reasons no longer known.[26]

After the council (12.8–21) Tarasios explains the difference between εἴδωλα and εἰκόνες to everybody. The former derive from Hellenic super-stitions but the latter represent exalted models and have the sanctity of τῆς ἀρχετυπίας. Even if we have no writings by Tarasios on the issue of images,[27] he is said to have argued in that way.

Also the apparently clear-cut attitude of Tarasios in the simony affair after the council (12.27–30) was not actually so clear-cut at all.[28]

Next Ignatios tells a long story (13.1–14.8): a judge who was accused of accepting bribes sought asylum in Hagia Sophia. Soldiers surrounded the altar, so Tarasios personally brought the man food and took him to the toilet. But the soldiers were able to outwit him and drag the man to the Eleutherios Palace. Tarasios went to the palace, but was not let in, yet by his pleas was able to keep the soldiers from using torture. [560] In the end it turned out the man was not guilty. But the point of this story is that Tarasios felt no fear in the face of state power where justice was concerned.

As for how far Ignatios departs from the truth in his presentation of the adultery controversy, this need not be explained again.[29] Several purely literary aspects deserve a mention.[30]

Whereas one can establish a chronological sequence for the entire *Vita* up to this point (19.34), even if lightened by many vignettes, the following starts a little different: Ignatios himself speaks about the παράθεσις that comes next as a σύγκρισις (19.35f.). Though I can not prove it, I have the impression that the entire following section (up to 25.7), which also narrates the supposed activities of Tarasios during the decoration of the churches,[31] was only written during a second phase of work, perhaps because Ignatios was asked to, perhaps because he himself had some relevant ideas. The question what really

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[25] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 564f. nn. 383, 386; on Plato, p. 562 n. 376.

[26] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 194f.

[27] Only Ignatios (11.17f.) knows that Tarasios composed the Horos of 787 and this fact is nowhere near as sure as I suggested in *Konstantin VI.*, p. 176.

[28] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 194f.

[29] Everything is already in von Dobschütz, p. 58. See *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 256–59.

[30] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 685 n. 54a.

[31] As in n. 10 above.

happened with Tarasios and the images must have been of great importance.
This is not to say that a lot of time has passed between the first and the second
phase of work on the text. The only thing to be noticed is a change in the
conception of the structure of the *Vita*, even of course if a synkrisis belongs to
the genre.

In connection with this comparison, Ignatios starts with the ascetics
(19.36–20.4), who effectively lived 'without flesh and blood'. Tarasios only
falls short in his behaviour with regard to not having lived like a hermit in
solitude. (As Patriarch that would have been impossible.) But in general he
ranked alongside them, was left just behind them or even surpassed them.

The reference is obviously to holy monks, who of course were considered as
ideal for Theodore of Stoudios, too, even though he had objections to the
hermit's way of life.[32] And – even Theodore had not lived as a hermit. With
regard to these saints, Tarasios need not fear comparison with Theodore.
Ignatios does not use the phrase μίμησις, but it is nonetheless present, because
imitating holy men spurs on Tarasios, on in his work.

In addition to these ascetics there is a second group of saints who invite
comparison: the martyrs. With these Tarasios cannot be compared directly,
because he did not [561] die a martyr's death. In this case a direct comparison
would amount to sheer blasphemy. But even here Ignatios knows of a
(rhetorical) escape hatch and can introduce the concept of μίμησις.

Tarasios (20.4–17) did not imitate the martyrs in front of the judges or in the
arena (οὐ ... ἐμιμήσατο). But he honoured them and crowned them with the
victor's wreath in his speeches.[33] He sought their help and had their ordeals
depicted reverently in the holy temples, in view of all, as a prompt picture
and as a book that worked by itself (κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς πάντων ἑτοίμην
γραφὴν καὶ βιβλίον αὐτόματον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ναοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τούτων
ἐγγράψας σεπτῶς ἀνεστήλωσεν).

Again Ignatios knows exactly what he wants. Even art is a mimesis;
Tarasios, who cannot imitate the martyrs in his own life, can have their deeds
portrayed. That is his mimesis.

Further, it also rehearses the old view of iconophiles that images can be as

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[32] See the present author *Jamben*, p. 212f. on holy monks and p. 122 on iambic 5.6–9
(against eremitism).

[33] [574] One should not infer anything concrete from this about surviving martyr
sermons; see n. 67 below. Here one finds the familiar argument that word and picture are
reckoned alike, and so as a result Tarasios must praise the martyrs in words and pictures.

educational as words and can even be morally supportive. Ignatios even finds a very fitting formulation for this idea, ἑτοίμη γραφή and βιβλίον αὐτόματον.

By this means spectators should be encouraged to hold out in corresponding situations and to be prepared to accept martyrdom. But this is better done by eye than the ear, which in the hierarchy of the senses holds only second place, as a wise man has said.[34]

Iconophiles of the eighth century had already had the idea that pictures are better suited than words to achieve certain effects;[35] here, characteristically, it is carried forward with an antiquarian argument.

The enumeration that follows of the various kinds of martyrs (20.18–21.18) circles around the idea of who could remain unmoved by the sight of such martyrs.

This idea belongs to the central inventory of the iconophile argumentation, right from the beginning, and in fact can be found in the Patristic era.[36] The passage of Ignatios would most of all require a literary commentary, since all these kinds of martyrdom could be depicted in vitae rather than in pictures.

Yet it is questionable whether Tarasios actually had all these pictures painted,[37] even if the point has just been made and was emphasized again and

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[34] Sight's standing higher in the hierarchy of the senses than hearing is an ancient commonplace (cf. the typical example at Georg. Pis., *Bell. Avar.*, 509–518.). The meaning intended by Ignatios could be that of Aristotle. See his *Meta.* B9 369^{b}9: ... τὴν ὄψιν προτερεῖν τῆς ἀκοῆς as compared to Ignatios' formula (20.15):... ὀφθαλμός, ... τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐπίπροσθε γίνεσθαι – since he expressly speaks of a book, Ignatios is a typical antiquarian, since in his day it would still be read by ear, that is, through reading aloud.

[35] Cf. most recently the present author's *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2; Bonn, 1981), p. 273 (hereafter *Artabasdos*); Wolska-Conus, p. 251 n. 27 refers to Nikephoros. The patriarch Photios also knows the idea (*Hom.* 17, ed. B. Laourdas [Thessalonike, 1959] 170.9–24). He even mentions martyr scenes as especially effective. Did Photios know this passage of the *Vita*?

[36] See, for example, John of Damascus, *de imag.*, ed. R. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 1.13 or 3.23. Among the church fathers, Gregory of Nyssa is cited again and again, as in John of Damascus, ibid., 1.52, 2.48, 3.50. See also Kotter's commentary on these passages.

[37] If I deny that Tarasios had in fact had martyr scenes portrayed, at least on a grand scale, that does not mean that there were no such portrayals. They are mentioned again and again, for example, by Hypatios II of Ephesos. See the author's 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΛΥΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios über die Bilder ...' *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (Bonn, 1984), pp. 211–72, at 227 (hereafter 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ'). This whole line of argument cannot simply lead nowhere, although certainly such scenes are particularly suited to the arousal of pity. But Ignatios is no proof for the existence of such portrayals.

again by Ignatios.[38] If rhetoric is considered, it is more consistent with the hortatory function of such pictures if only the most extreme cruelty was portrayed, although in reality scenes of this kind surely declined in importance compared to others and did not [562] determine decoration of churches all by themselves. What seemed to happen, at the time, when saints are depicted is a mix of martyrs and confessors, and the objects are mostly medallions or full figure images.[39]

Admittedly, the wording of the *Vita* tends to sound as if Tarasios had such images introduced in great numbers. But it also gives the impression that the claim of Constantine VI, that his wife Maria had tried to kill him with poison, was actually uttered. Ignatios has lost his credibility long before – in the case of martyr scenes, rhetoric alone is enough – it is amusing that the effect which pictures should evoke in fact is evoked through the speaker's words.[40] In this context only a (former) iconoclast could come up with such ideas.

And Ignatios was an iconoclast until 843. But the problem iconoclasm had and was always the adoration of, the proskynesis to images. Of course the iconophiles mainly argued otherwise and treated narrative representations and devotional images in the form of individual representations indiscriminately so that they provided a wide basis for their arguments. The iconoclasts, however, wanted to prevent the adoration of images and as a rule removed no narrative representations or cycles of such pictures.[41] So we encounter the paradox that iconophiles of the second iconoclasm, like Theodore of Stoudios, had to attack iconophiles of the first iconoclasm like Hypatios II of Ephesos for only accepting narrative pictures, and not being in agreement with the true teachings. This, therefore, makes them virtually identical to the iconoclasts of the second iconoclasm.[42]

Thanks to describing such scenes as a book for the illiterate[43] and thanks to the accompanying moral boost evoked by this, Ignatios the 'iconoclast' can

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[38] For the expression (21.3) δι' ὕλης χρωμάτων see n. 60 below.

[39] See n. 46 below.

[40] For the close similarity between rhetoric and art, see H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981).

[41] I know only one example, the removal from the Blachernai church of a series of paintings inspired by the Gospels. But that happened as the final session of the council of 754 was due to take place there; see *Konstantin VI.*, p. 447f.

[42] See 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ', p. 228f.

[43] The expression of John of Damascus, *de imag.*, I.17.6f.

call himself an 'iconophile' without having to surrender or fundamentally change his previous views. At the same time Tarasios, the restorer of images in 787, turned into a model for the iconoclasts of the second iconoclasm and effectively was taken away from the iconophiles.

The Tarasios described by Ignatios is therefore completely unhistorical and only comprehensible in the light of Ignatios' special situation. The historical Tarasios would hardly have introduced martyr cycles. If in fact he had, he would have put up individual figures – devotional images, 'icons' – but even this seems unlikely considering everything we know.[44] The official church believed [563] that it had done its duty if it permitted the worshipping of images as a legitimate practice. But it is not the case that they went further and through production of images increased the cult of images itself. That began later, through Photios, after the second iconoclasm.[45]

Active support for images was not Tarasios' thing. Rather, a counterpart virtually passed over in silence in Ignatios' *Vita*, Theodore of Stoudios, was the one who started that. He had a cycle of pictures of saints exhibited in his monastery,[46] and probably was very active elsewhere too. The tendency that Ernst von Dobschütz pointed out should be noted here, too.

But it goes further. Amid all the tales of martyrdom Ignatios built up to a climax (21.19–22.28): after the men come the women,[47] then the children, then Stephen and Thekla and last Christ on the cross, who therefore so to speak becomes the first martyr, ahead of these two.[48]

Scholars have asked why Tarasios has only had this scene from the life of Christ portrayed.[49] The answer, which should be obvious, is rhetorical and theological. Rhetorically, this ostensible description marks the climax; theologically, Ignatios can again avoid mentioning a devotional image of Christ, an icon. He also uses a narrative image, the crucifixion. It was surely

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[44] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 190f.

[45] H.G. Thümmel, 'Patriarch Photios und die Bilder, Eikon und Logos', in *Beiträge zur Erforschung byzantinischer Kulturtraditionen*, ed. H. Goltz (Halle, 1981), pp. 275–89.

[46] See author's 'Ein Heiligenbilderzyklus im Studios-Kloster um das Jahr 800', in *Actes du XIIe Congr. Int. des Ét. Byz.* III (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 333–44. Today I would rather emphasize the explosive effect of the 'devotional' images.

[47] [575] Women can put men to shame with a vengeance. For Eirene and this topos, see *Konstantin VI.*, p. 105f.

[48] Expressly at 22.3. See also Wolska-Conus, p. 253f.

[49] Wolska-Conus, p. 253.

Tarasios in this connection who after the council of 787 witnessed the return of the Chalke image of Christ, in fact the decisive image of this type, and approved it, even if he did not cause it.[50] Suggestively he also bore witness to the inscribing of the first epigram of Theodore of Stoudios on the Chalke[51] and naturally also to the ostentatious amends Eirene made to the Studite,[52] surely one of the reasons for the length of the conflict.

The choice of the crucifixion though, has a broader meaning: the Chalke image of Christ, which was also reinstalled after 843,[53] placed the cross right behind Christ's head, and it is precisely by dealing with this image that Theodore can show that the iconophiles venerate Christ (in picture form) as well as the cross.[54] And Ignatios achieves his double allusion to Christ and the cross through a narrative representation, that is, the crucifixion.

So it is not surprising that he introduces a passage concerning the theology of images in this very section.

In conjunction with the emotion raised by the image of the crucifixion (22.3–8), he pursues the thought that the humanity of Christ implies his representability [564] without having to assume a confusion of his natures. In this connection he also speaks of the προσκύνησις τῆς εἰκόνος θεοῦ (22.17) – only in this one passage in the whole vita – and again mentions the educational value of pictures[55] that lead people to understand the Old Testament and lastly to understand the δόξα θεοῦ (22.23).[56]

In this passage he also inserts a polemic (22.29) against the heretic and addresses him personally:[57] when would he finally understand the difference between the profane and the sacred? Surely (22.32–34) it is natural for justice and education to distinguish holy from profane, clean from filthy, just as it is

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[50]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 190 with n. 90.

[51]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 614f.

[52]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 376.

[53]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 618.

[54]   A. Frolow, 'Le Christ de la Chalké', *Byzantion* 33 (1963), pp. 107–20, already noticed this. See also *Konstantin VI.*, p. 613f.

[55]   But not that Tarasios had them made, as Wolska-Conus, p. 251f., understands.

[56]   Here the former iconoclast Ignatios can scarcely have been comfortable, since on earth the δόξα Christi is describable only through words, according to the iconoclasts. See my 'Die ikonoklastischen Jamben an der Chalke', *Hellenika* 27 (1974), pp. 376–80, at 378f.

[57]   This polemic is fake. Not as if after 843 people could not have possibly have debated this way. See also Wolska-Conus, p. 251 n. 22.

characteristic of lawlessness and ignorance to combine the two, to reconcile unreconcilable contrasts, to mix and confuse everything.

Even if the following polemic is rather banal – it concerns the difference between Zeus, whom people have portrayed although he never existed, and Christ, who actually lived – it is still surprising that the iconoclast is disqualified as uneducated. In the image controversy this argument was present from the beginning, insofar as the decline of culture in the Dark Ages was blamed on the iconoclasts.[58] Ignatios just borrows an already existing topos, but that is in some way strange, since he himself surely has cultural claims and is a former iconoclast.

Indeed, one must note that it was again Theodore of Stoudios who proudly uses his education precisely also to claim the correctness of the iconophile argumentation.[59]

Then this paragraph ends as follows (23.16–19): with such words Tarasios raised up the martyrs and with such images he portrayed their struggles and so followed their path, even if without welts. (τοιούτοις Ταράσιος τοὺς μάρτυρας λόγοις ἐγκωμίων ἐπάρας καὶ πίναξι τοὺς ἀθλητικοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ κινδύνους ἐγχαράξας κατ᾽ ἴχνος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰ μωλώπων ἄτερ, διέμεινεν, οὐ κατόπιν ἐβάδισεν).

This is surprising, since it is the conclusion of the chapter on martyrs (after 20.9f., where the issue was already words and images). But this is not to be understood as a conclusion of the preceding polemical chapter. The word τοιούτοις (23.16) cannot actually refer to that, since it was not a matter of 'words and images of this kind.' Here it is relevant that in this very chapter some things are mentioned that actually are not discussed, like proskynesis and the lack of education of the iconoclasts.

[565] Is the polemical chapter an interpolation? Or is it more likely just a self-interpolation? I have already assumed that the whole chapter about synkrisis, the only one in which images are described, is a later insertion by Ignatios. Along with the polemic, this paragraph about the theology of the image of Christ could allow us another peek into Ignatios' workshop. Because people could have asked him about the lack of theological accuracy in his chapters on images in connection with martyrs and he could therefore have realized that he had reason to write this theological-polemical chapter.

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[58]   See *Ikonoklasmus*, p. 199.
[59]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 612.

Whether this chapter is an interpolation or an added self-interpolation cannot probably be decided. The interpolator or Ignatios himself did in any case not pay much attention, since the same thoughts already appear previously (12.8–21), even if Zeus and Christ were not named. Such a doublet reveals interpolation.

The chapter on martyrs certainly comes to a meaningful conclusion: in contrast to the opening words, where the meaning is that Tarasios could not equal the martyrs, here he has turned into a martyr without welts thanks to his sermons and his pictures. It was Ignatios' aim to stress this, and not that Tarasios had series of pictures installed.

After Ignatios has examined two categories of saints, he continues in his synkrisis with the saints of the Bible, first (23.30–24.8) with τοὺς ἐν χάριτι, the Apostles. Here, too, the comparison turns out well for Tarasios in every respect: his faith was deeper than Thomas's.

The middle of this paragraph contains a remark related to the theology of images again (23.32–35), one that quite senselessly begins with γάρ: since according to the tradition of the Fathers he has had the instrument of the Apostles introduced into all the churches of the world (ταῖς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἐκκλησίαις), in material colours,[60] the spirit is roused through the representations of the Gospels (διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ... ἱεροτυπίας) and the adoration extends to the very one (i.e., to God) who has inspired them (i.e., the Evangelists).

It should be crystal clear that this paragraph is interpolated. In this chapter, after all, the subject is neither the Gospels nor Evangelists, but the Apostles. The second part of the sentence (ὡς ἂν ... ὁ νοῦς ... ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ... τὴν τιμὴν διαβιβάζοι) is an adaptation of the well-known quotation of Basil: ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμή ... But the worship does not pass over from the image to what is represented. It just passes from the Evangelists [566] to God, and it no longer matters that the Gospels should have been made the subject of representations. This entire argument is so cunningly done that one must imagine an accomplished speaker (and former iconoclast?) as the author, and thus could assume another possible interpolation. In any case, the aporia in that

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[60] Χρώμασιν ὑλικοῖς (23.32; see also n. 38 above). What was originally the greatest object of reproach on the part of the iconoclasts (see for example *Artabasdos*, p. 191f.) is mentioned here with almost naive pride or with the subtlety of a former iconoclast. The choice depends on whether the sentence is interpolated.

Ignatios only mentions the New Testament incidentally, is fully explained:[61] Ignatios neither knew that Tarasios had had scenes from the Gospel installed nor was it his initial intention to give emphasis to this in his synkrisis.

Rounding off the synkrisis are the saints at πρὸ τῆς χάριτος, the saints of the Old Testament (24.20–25.7). This comparison also works out well for Tarasios: as Moses led his people out of Egypt, so Tarasios led the church out of heresy (24.21–29), rescued the Christians, removed idle and heathen superstitions concerning holy images that made their tongues wag, and protected them with the true believers' teaching passed down from the Fathers and reinforced by a synod (συνοδικοῖς καὶ πατρικοῖς καὶ ὀρθοτόμοις περιεχαράκωσε δόγμασι). In portraying the work of Tarasios here, Ignatios approximates historical truth, but he does not say a word on the subject of the images that Tarasios is supposed to have caused.

Yet this is not enough. Ignatios compares Tarasios to Moses a second time (24.34f.): he describes him (Μωσέα ... ἐξεικόνισα) in his gentleness, a man who bore no grudge against any other man. A man who in his virtues imitates the saint is a picture of this saint: an idea that is sheer iconoclasm. In this, Ignatios continues, Tarasios differs from his opponents, who all hold grudges and call into question his good intentions. Here Ignatios admits for the first time that Tarasios had enemies. But they are μανιώδεις καὶ μνησίκακοι and so he can ignore them completely! So the synkrisis reaches its conclusion.

It is characteristic of the general trend of Ignatios' train of thought that this synkrisis in general lists the same categories of holy men that were introduced again and again in the arguments of the iconophiles – that is, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors, and, of course, points out the emphatic argument: should we not portray these men at all? This is anything but pure convinced icon worship.

For the remainder of the *Vita* let me mention only a few details:

After the death of Tarasios everyone mourns him,[62] the monks among them of course (24.4–7). There is no hint that there had once been trouble.

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[61] Wolska-Conus, p. 253.

[62] At the head of the mourners stood the emperor (26.22f.): ... τὴν ἐπικήδειον θρηνῳδίαν εἰργάζετο. The following expressions (26.23–26) very strongly recall the poems for Leo VI published by I. Ševčenko and other poems of the same kind that certainly were recited at funerals. Cf. author's 'Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel', *Byz. Archiv* 14 (1974), p. 58 n. 13, hereafter *Universität*. Tarasios thus receives many attributes that are due to the emperor and Nikephoros even dresses him in the purple (26.22).

[567] Tarasios was buried in the church of the monastery he founded[63] and which – as is now said – was dedicated to all martyrs. Now so far as the statement itself goes, there is nothing to question: after 843, people still knew where Tarasios was buried. Yet the information is surprising. Of course there had for a long time been a holiday of 'all martyrs' on the Sunday after Whitsun, but as the name of a church it is very improbable,[64] and so far as Tarasios is concerned, there is no plausible reason for such a special dedication. The reason for the claim should be sought in the inner logic of the *Vita* instead. In that light, Tarasios, who in the synkrisis had come off as a unique counterpart to the martyrs, must dedicate his church to them. Whether he actually had this church dedicated to all the martyrs is therefore very doubtful. If one proceeds from the fact that Ignatios would not want to become guilty of a falsehood with regard to ascertainable facts, one might well imagine a group of martyrs.

This assumption does not contradict the previous assumption that the whole synkrisis was possibly written later: Ignatios might have inserted the church name later. The final result is that here Tarasios is equal with his unnamed rival: since 844 Theodore of Stoudios had been buried (as had his brother Joseph) in the church of 'his' monastery (in Stoudiou).

The posthumous miracle of the prophecy to Leo V (28.16–31) is revealing. Leo, who was a supporter of the heresy of the image-destroyers, sees Tarasios in a dream as Tarasios gives one Michael the order to slay Leo with a sword. Leo has Michael sought everywhere, even in Tarasios' monastery; in fact he has some monks from the monastery tortured to discover Michael's whereabouts. Tarasios says that he has to discover (ἡμεῖς) from the monks how to reach you (ὑμῖν) again. Actually, Michael kills Leo. So God honours his servant even after his death and condemns his opponent to oblivion.

Even if Leo V and Michael II did not differ in their iconoclasm,[65] Michael

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[63]   Wolska-Conus, p. 253 n. 36, takes notice of Tarasios' activity as a builder and thinks that buildings and pictures often go together and also that scenes of martyrs could have been appropriate for the decoration proposed.

[64]   In the case of the Pantheon at Rome, dedicated to Mary 'et omnium martyrum' (*Lib. pontif.*, Duchesne, I, 317.4), the reason was obvious. It is not said and at 20.11 (ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ναοῖς) not implied that Tarasios had all or any of the previously mentioned martyr scenes introduced into the church. Besides, this church would have looked like, say, the Tetraptychon Menologion of Sinai, and for the period around 800 something like this is out of the question. (See G. and M. Soteriou, Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ I (Athens, 1956), figs. 136–43, but only the scenes of martyrs).

[65]   Cf. 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ', p. 229.

still rated as the milder ruler, above all since under pressure from the rebellion of Thomas he decided to treat better some people harassed by Leo V. It is understandable that this was broadcast even more after 843, since then it also was a dynastic issue. But Ignatios can use this anecdote that beautifully fits into known history, to show that after 815 even the monastery of Tarasios offered opposition and was persecuted. It would be impossible to prove the contrary.

[568] Since Ignatios' personal relation to Tarasios was no invention (see below), it does seem possible to me that he was a monk in this monastery after 843. In this paragraph a further inconsistency appears, since only here does he mention a public that he addresses as listeners of his *Vita*. Is the *Vita* a revised encomium?

The personal thanks given by Ignatios to Tarasios (29.1–16) also merit a few final remarks. Tarasios should not censure his work, Ignatios says, but recognize it as a sign of his love and his faith. Tarasios is therefore so educated in rhetoric as to appreciate the qualities of this *Vita*.

Ignatios would forget neither the teachings of Tarasios nor his service to him. In regard to the former, he says that in very early youth he had learned trimeters, trochaic tetrameters, anapaests and heroic verse from Tarasios.

This statement has been quoted unquestioningly by everyone, although apart from it there is no reason to turn Tarasios into an expert in ancient metric. Elsewhere[66] I have suggested the paragraph means that Ignatios, who already had independently become familiar with many literary genres from Late Antiquity, had thanked Tarasios insofar as Tarasios had introduced him to those metres. This would be the positive aspect of this passage. But the general tendency of the *Vita* is also obvious: the man who was the first to write poetry again after the Dark Ages and in part had written very complicated poetry indeed, was Theodore of Stoudios. Though he is not named, Tarasios is again compared to him, and whereas Theodore wrote only iambics, although with very complicated acrostics, Tarasios knows something about a greater variety of ancient metres and thus is a much better representative of the Byzantine renaissance!

It might be right that Ignatios was Tarasios' private secretary, acted as stenographer during his sermons, and distributed them to copyists. All the rhetoric aside, this personal passage strikes one as genuine. Nevertheless, a

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[66] The work mentioned in n. 5, but unfortunately I still cannot state the place of publication.

suspicion troubles me again: there existed a considerable corpus of sermons, catechisms, and so forth by Theodore of Stoudios. And by Tarasios? At least Ignatios can say that he recorded them and leave open the question of what has become of them.[67]

Thus this quite personal note of thanks becomes some kind of evidence for the historical reality of what Ignatios claims.

Ignatios concludes his thanks with the request and wish that he himself should be forgotten if he should ever stop remembering Tarasios.

[569] The concluding section (29.17–32) deserves some further remarks. It is addressed to a servant of the Lord, whoever he may be, who summoned him to this work, whether he wanted to or not, and who forced him to undertake something that exceeded his powers. He should accept the work of obedience and not care about the poor literary quality. It is impossible for him to match the virtues of Tarasios. Tarasios exceeded the capacity of any description, so much so that all who wished to praise him must fall short of their aim, him most particularly, since he is bent by lack of speech,[68] age and sickness. But, the servant of the Lord says, you will receive a reward for your labours from God, since you have Tarasios as your advocate, Tarasios whom you loved so dearly. He should make earthly life safe for you and support you on Judgement Day in the afterlife. All whose hope is God should benefit from this feeling of joy.

First, this person does not seem to me to be the same as ὑμεῖς previously mentioned, even if ὑμεῖς is applied to only one person as well. That would be another indication of a rewriting of the vita.

But it would be more important to identify the person addressed in the final chapter. He is a priest, who himself was an admirer of Tarasios; one may think of an older contemporary of Ignatios who likewise came to know Tarasios during his term of office and so was acquainted with Ignatios from then on.

This priest has now asked Ignatios to write the vita and has also supported him in some way (μισθαποδοσία). He might therefore have even been the person who asked Ignatios to make his first revision, the one leading to the

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[67]   If Wolska-Conus, p. 251 with n. 23, is right to connect this sentence with the speech on the martyrs (20.9 and 23.7) in order to support the probable existence of a collection of sermons, the collection came into the hands of Ignatios; [576] see above, n. 33. More sermons of Tarasios, ethical and exegetical, are in fact mentioned at 12.30–36.

[68]   29.25: ἀπορία λόγου. Since sickness is mentioned right afterwards, it cannot provide a physical excuse. Was Ignatios perhaps referring to his (enforced?) idleness after the loss of his post as bishop?

synkrisis, and who on the other hand let him get away with some 'iconoclastic' passages.

If one recalls the title of the essay by von Dobschütz, then Ignatios' supporter could only have been the Patriarch Methodios.[69] At the same time we reach the conclusion that the *Vita* of Tarasios is naturally no source for Tarasios, but at best one for Ignatios. Tarasios embodies a certain tendency that was important after 843. In spite of the entirely different genre (saint's life instead of history), the Tarasios of Ignatios fulfils the same purpose as the Artabasdos of Nikephoros in his *Breviarium*,[70] namely using history to support contemporary political relations. Unlike Synkellos with his 'source collections',[71] Nikephoros and Ignatios paint a historical picture that has significance for the political situation of their day. In their own mind of course they do not 'lie' by doing this, even if they do not tell the 'truth'. But today we [570] should not take them as sources for the events that they report, and instead take them as sources for the time when they originated.[72]

But there is something else to add. If Nikephoros turns Artabasdos into a sheer usurper, a personal motivation is obvious, for Constantine VI and against Irene, who in fact forced him to resign from his office. One should assume that Ignatios the deacon was personally motivated too. But this not only springs from the fact that after 843 the Studites were much more uncompromising towards former iconoclasts than Methodios, who also took Tarasios' view and gave the commission for this *Vita* to someone who because of his iconoclast past had nothing to hope for from the Studites.

Ignatios' motivation, however, appears to go still further and even to be influenced by personal animosity against Theodore of Stoudios.

As I was able to show, Theodore was one of the most important figures of the early Byzantine renaissance and indeed at a time when the opposition between iconoclasm and icon worship was strong. Should one assume that the opposition between Theodore and Ignatios, as it appears in the *Vita*, dates

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[69]   Von Dobschütz proposes it as almost certain, p. 59. See also p. 54 n. 2.

[70]   See *Artabasdos*, pp. 110f. and 149.

[71]   I.e., Theophanes. Cf. C. Mango, 'Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?', *Zborn. Rad. Viz. Inst.* 18 (1978), pp. 9–17. On the method of work of Synkellos in particular, see *Artabasdos,* main part, passim. The work is plainly just partially preserved, but Synkellos has striven for a kind of objectivity by collecting other material that was available to him, even if we do not know what the final form of the collection looked like.

[72]   This, too, is available to readers in von Dobschütz.

back to this time? And should one consequently suppose that one of the four authors of the iconoclast iambics on the Chalke, namely the one with the name Ignatios, was our Ignatios?[73] But there might have been rivalry and indeed poetic rivalry between the two anyway. The *Suda* reports that Ignatios wrote ἰάμβους εἰς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀντάρτην, ἅπερ ὀνομάζονται τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν. We should assume that this does not mean a poem in praise of Thomas, but that Ignatios wrote an encomiastic poem to Michael II, Thomas's conqueror. Thereby he had revived the tradition of George of Pisidia for the Byzantine renaissance.

But already in 817 Theodore had finished a poem, the manuscript of which he sent to Naukratios: Ἀπέσταλκά σοι βιβλιδάκιον καὶ τετράδας δεκατέσσαρας, ἐφ' οἷς εἰσι λόγοι καὶ βίοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐμμέτροις στίχοις· ἅπερ ἀναγνοὺς αὐτός τε καί τινες τῶν πιστῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατάκρυψον:

As may be very probably deduced,[74] this was an epic encomium on the monks of Stoudiou, who had remained his followers. In poetic terms, however, this was the resumption of the encomiastic poetry of George of Pisidia, before Ignatios, while not on the emperor, but rather people persecuted by the emperor. Besides this Theodore appears to have called the polemical, learned poem back to life.[75]

[571] Despite all the sparseness of information from this early period of the Byzantine renaissance, there seems to gleam the undeniable possibility that the rivalry between Theodore of Stoudios and Ignatios the deacon lay in both the religious-political and poetic fields. In these two men the very same traits appear that I already have shown to be fruitful for the beginning of the Renaissance.

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[73] Normally scholars assume that Ignatios' οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος is the author, and so do I, *Universität*, p. 74 n. 2. But this is merely hypothetical.

[74] See my 'Parerga zu den Epigrammen des Theodoros Studites', Ἑλληνικά 18 (1964), pp. 11–43 and 207f., at 31f.

[75] Ibid., p. 30 n. 4.

A More Charitable Verdict:
Review of N.G. Wilson,
Scholars of Byzantium

A More Charitable Verdict
Rez.: N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*

[615] N.G. Wilson ends his book 'Scholars of Byzantium'[1] with the words used as the title of this review. With these words Wilson thinks that he has somewhat modified the absolute condemnation of Byzantium and its culture expressed in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. Still, it is surprising that in using this wording W. too reaches a verdict on Byzantium. (Why exactly? Does Byzantium still hurt us so much that we must go on condemning it, if no longer so crassly?) Or should these concluding remarks be interpreted as wishful thinking – in the vein of in depth psychology?

However that may be, this book would like, in all modesty, to do nothing less than 'to give an account of what happened to Greek literature from the end of the ancient world until the time of its reappearance in western Europe during the Renaissance' (p.1). If such a book is written in English, it has every chance [616] of becoming a much-read hand- and textbook and in this respect one can accept that the work being reviewed, the fruit of almost twenty years' labour, did not become more extensive. Doubtless this 283-page book could have become a much thicker and longer work (p. ix), but W. took particular care that it be readable. He has succeeded in this, not least because he always includes humour to spice it up.

For example, the not easily identifiable or datable mission which Photios mentions in connection with the 'Bibliotheke' could be assigned to a time when Photios was no longer Patriarch. According to Photios' own words, the mission

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[1]   London (Duckworth) 1983.

was dangerous, so 'just the kind of task that might be assigned to someone not fully in favour with the government'.

Nevertheless a bit more detail would not have harmed the readability, but would have done the book good. W. has in fact omitted too much.

To begin at the end: the book has an index of papyri, manuscripts and Greek authors up to the year 600, but none for the *Scholars of Byzantium* or their works. The detailed table of contents is usually very helpful, but only after the repeated re-reading of many pages can one re-find things, if one, for example, wishes to cite them.

But W. is probably just consistent in not wanting to be quoted at all,[2] since he believes that 'completeness in this regard (i.e., bibliographical references) is an academic habit much overvalued at present' (p. ix).[3]

Although W. saves much space, he still manages to keep the reader in the dark about whether he has taken on the opinions that he shares with others, or formed them on his own, whether he is unaware of opinions that he does not mention, or ignores them, or whether he wants to join the debate at all, or only wants to speculate in a vacuum.

So the only possible way to review such a book is to use individual passages to show that this method, if it actually is one, accomplishes nothing either on a large scale or in detail.

The persistence of the high style of the Second Sophistic in the Byzantine era is not as solidly consistent as W. portrays it (p. 4).[4] Even in the imperial court people had a taste for vernacular language at certain times.[5] Indeed, it even found its way into ceremonies.[6]

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[2]   I myself would have quoted him, and certainly p. 82f., in my 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance' in *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (Bonn, 1984), pp. 175–210, in particular p. 208 n. 14, if I had had the help of an index and had discovered this statement that is identical to mine.

[3]   A reference to 'Professor Hunger's excellent reference work, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*' helps little. Even Hunger's handbook (Munich, 1978) is not complete. One looks in vain there for a different interpretation of the war between cats and mice, for example, as is available in Ἑλληνικά 22 (1969), p. 484.

[4]   Cf. e.g. Speck, 'Versuch einer Charakterisierung der sogenannten Makedonischen Renaissance' in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance* (Acta Univ. Upsal., *Figura* n.s. 19; Uppsala, 1981), pp. 237–42.

[5]   Most recently, see Speck, 'Interpretations et non-sens indiscutables. Das erste Gedicht der Ptochoprodromika', in *Varia* I (as in n. 2 above), pp. 273–309, at 296 and 300.

[6]   See e.g. Ἑλληνικά 21 (1968), p. 196f.

The 'Historia' of Nikephoros is written in a style that led a reader to gloss 'a number of difficult words with more intelligible alternatives' (p. 5).[7] For whom? Himself? (But he could, however, compile the glosses!). Or maybe for the 'average reader', who might have difficulties with the high style? Or for pupils instead? In a book about 'Scholars' one should ask such questions.

W. loves 'the man in the street'. Surely he is right when he says (p. 7) that [617] the wish to concentrate just on the contents in no way means that one uses the language of 'the man in the street'. But such remarks are still no proof that the Atticists ruled the field 'almost unchallenged'. In fact, the sources known to us never argue against the use of vulgar speech.[8] The use of popular speech that differs from one era to the next is proof in itself.[9]

And whether 'Romanos may have represented and reinforced the attitude of the man in the street' (p. 8) appears extremely doubtful to me.

If Romanos attacks Plato (πλανῶνται πρὸς Πλάτωνα) or Demosthenes (τὸν ἀσθενῆ) with puns on their name,[10] the man in the street could perhaps understand it. But did he know who Demosthenes was and did he associate anything with the name except that he was a pagan? Theophilos of Alexandria had to offer something more substantial to the 'monk in the street'! When Romanos also drags Aratus (τὸν τρισκαράρατον) through the mud, one conclusion has to be drawn: the name lent itself to this play upon words. It does not follow that Aratus was a school author and was rejected because of that. Polemics against pagan education essentially always mean the admission that one has nothing else or nothing better.

Finally, what should 'the man in the street' make of Romanos' final statement that Pythagoras was rightly hushed up? From this W. concludes that no works by Pythagoras survived, just the spurious 'Golden Words'. But perhaps Romanos wanted to combat the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which the Manichaeans had adopted and used against the Christians. But all this has nothing to do with the passage. Romanos and the audience he wrote for – but not the 'man in the street' – knew of course about Pythagorean silence and

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[7] Here we even find a reference, to the *praefatio* of de Boor, p. xvii f. But if one looks it up, one finds that de Boor introduces further glosses on p. xix f. and does not finish his remarks till p. xxii.

[8] This would be the viewpoint of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[9] As in n. 4 above.

[10] Most recently see H. Hunger, 'Romanos Melodos. Dichter, Prediger, Rhetor – und sein Publikum', *Jahrb. Österr. Byz.* 34 (1984), pp. 15–42, at 33.

enjoyed the polemic, and also the education which made this polemic possible for them – or, rather, the recognition of it!

And if this polemic – one of the very few in the works of Romanos, he was not particularly concerned by these questions – actually had something to do with the closing of the Athenian Academy,[11] the addressee should have been Justinian. Anyway it has nothing to do with 'the man in the street'.

The story that Julian's decree on education (p. 10; W. speaks of a 'persecution of the Christians') directly caused the Apollinarioi, father and son, to compose Christian school texts is surely a legend. This is obvious, not least because the church historian Sokrates, who reports on this, no longer knew of their extensive works.[12]

The consequences of this decree were on the whole probably not as direct as the sources lead us to believe. Julian died so soon after the decree that one ought to wonder whether it was put into practice at all. Instead the consequences were indirect: Julian made it clear to the Christians that they had failed to build up their own educational system and that their system would never have a chance of competing with the pagan system. It is, therefore, no surprise that even up to our century all those who wanted to unite pagan Antiquity and Christianity in a system of education (those advocates of a Christian humanism) had to find pretty crude arguments to be able to bring the two under one roof.

[618] With regard to the education decree one has to investigate whether paraphrasis literature arose from this stimulus or was just intensified; or whether it ever went beyond epic paraphrases; and just why it was reckoned that the two Apollinarioi could have written something, so that they and not someone like Gregory of Nazianzus should have been the composers of school texts for Christians.

Yet so long as such investigations have not been undertaken and a gullible trust in the sources prevails, one at least ought to demand that the sources be cited properly. So let us look at W. (p. 10): 'Apollinaris ..., collaborating with

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[11]   J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris, 1977), p. 185, tries to deduce the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* from the authors attacked. That was sheer polemic and does not refer to any concrete event.

[12]   *Hist. Ecc.* III.16; PG 67, 420B: Julian died very soon after the decree. The works of the two Apollinarioi ἐν ἴσῳ τοῦ μὴ γραφῆναι λογίζεται. In the following passage Sokrates wonders why these works vanished, with the abhorrence of Greek education, and finds a reason (worth reading!).

his father, tried to draw up an entirely Christian curriculum. Homer was replaced by a paraphrase of the psalms in hexameters of pseudo-Homeric style and the historical books of the Bible were converted into the iambic verse of Greek tragedy.' And now the source, Sokrates:[13] Both Apollinarioi were learned scholars (ἐπιστήμονες λόγων); the father dealt with the domain of the γραμματικῶν, the son with that of the σοφιστικῶν. Together the two were responsible for the whole of school education as a whole and they could cover the entire curriculum.

Consistent with this division of labour, the father composed a text-book for lower grades, a Christian τέχνη γραμματική[14] – however Christian has to be read. He also put the Pentateuch into heroic verse and turned the historical books into dramas. He used all metres[15] with the aim of making all the

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[13] PG 67, 417D.

[14] In case the future editor of Sokrates reads this article, here is a recommendation for a textual emendation (PG 67, 417D–420A): ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς. γραμματικὸς ἅτε ὤν. τέχνην γραμματικὴν Χριστιανικῷ τύπῳ συνέταττε.

[15] This paragraph (PG 67, 420A) is in disarray. It is published as follows: τά τε Μουσέως βιβλία διὰ τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ λεγομένου μέτρου μετέβαλε καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην ἐν ἱστορίας τύπῳ συγγέγραπται καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ δακτυλικῷ μέτρῳ συνέταττε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ τῆς τραγῳδίας τύπῳ δραματικῶς ἐξειργάζετο. Καὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ ῥυθμικῷ ἐχρῆτο. To be meaningful, it would be: he made an epic poem from the Books of Moses (write ἔπους instead of μέτρου, which appears below) and tragedies from the historical books of the Old Testament (the sentence τῷ τῆς τραγῳδίας ... ἐξειργάζετο belongs here). He turned the one into dactylic hexameters and the other into iambic trimeters (here something like this has to fit in as a replacement for the transposed sentence) and in fact used all metres (sc. in choral lyrics). Sokrates undoubtedly wrote a story, but not nonsense. Just how Sokrates reworked an unintelligible model, especially in relation to the passage παντὶ μέτρῳ ῥυθμικῷ, remains an open question. That Sozomenos appears to have used the same model, but he leaves out the younger Apollinarios and hence the New Testament and the effect of the double course of instruction (see below). Moreover, he specified the programme of the older Apollinarios and given it a personal touch (V.18.3f, 222.8–21[Bidez-Hansen]): He worked on the Old Testament down to the reign of Saul in 24 epic books that he labelled with the letters of the Greek alphabet (N.B. the division of the books down to Saul is not clear to me. The use of the expression ἐν ἔπεσιν ἡρῴοις could confirm the correction in Sokrates). He wrote comedies in the style of Menander, tragedies in the manner of Euripides (note that both of these were read during the first stage of schooling!); and lyrics in that of Pindar (this passage could indicate that the corruption in Sokrates' text goes further, unless Sozomenos has interpreted the phrase 'various metres' according to his own ideas). So within in a short time he brought together the ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα. (This does not make sense. Here, too, a comment on the reason given in the

expressive forms of Greek literature accessible for Christians.[16]

According to Sokrates, the poetic and prophetic books were not paraphrased. When W. comes to the Psalms, he notes: 'a paraphrase of the psalms whose authenticity is not generally accepted, still exists'.

[619] It makes you want to cry! Whereas earlier scholars[17] used the version of the Psalms to refute Sokrates and show that the work of the two Apollinarioi was not entirely lost, now the Psalms version is presented as though the question had not been settled – as though there were still serious arguments for ascribing it to one of the Apollinarioi (without a bibliography one can claim anything). And as though Sokrates, too, had referred to this work, although he explicitly mentions the Books of Moses.

But there is more. About Apollinarios *fils* Sokrates writes that he rewrote the Gospels and the Epistles in the style of Plato.

Since the younger Apollinarios, the σοφιστής, was responsible for the 'senior' curriculum, in which philosophy was included, and indeed philosophy was the climax of all education, it is plain that the New Testament, which is the climax of Christian learning, was offered in the form of a Platonic dialogue. Therefore Julian's method was doomed from the start: using the same form the Christians had the better content – that is what the Apollinarioi had managed. It is quite obvious that this is a fabricated story and not a historical event. And the purpose of the legend should also be clear.

Now W.'s version:

> What is more curious is the report that Apollinaris recast the Gospels and Epistles in the form of Platonic dialogues. The implication would appear to be that notwithstanding his religious scruples he felt the need to maintain the tradition of Atticist style,[18] or that he was determined to make the New Testament attractive to pagans who thought it stylistically beneath their notice.[19]

But one has to argue this way if one does not even once take the trouble to have

following passage, for why Apollinarios did not succeed, is necessary. Compared to Sokrates it is much shorter.) All this is read by W. as: 'Sozomenos gives a slightly different and less plausible account' (p. 10 n. 6).

[16]   All that during the few months leading up to the death of Julian! An enormous task which is emphasised accordingly by the church historians.

[17]   H. Valois, PG 67, 420, n. b.

[18]   But that is exactly what should have happened! Why such speculation?

[19]   I do not understand what this is supposed to mean. It certainly does not refer to the conversion of pagans but to the content of the education of Christians.

a brief look at the source and discover what kind of 'Scholars of Byzantium' the two Apollinarioi are there.

Regarding the diminishing knowledge of Latin in Constantinople in the sixth century (p. 58), with a little reading W. could have discovered that Corippus was only temporarily in Constantinople and why he wrote only Latin.[20] The question 'could he have been sure of being understood even by all the members of the court' would still sound very learned but would be irrelevant. On the other hand, George of Pisidia probably still knew some Latin.[21]

Anyway, 'the loss of linguistic competence may have happened quite suddenly at the end of the century' (p. 59). Yes, but this does not come out of the blue. Instead it starts with the great catastrophes, in this case the Avars and Slavs, that brought the empire and its culture to the verge of dissolution. Yet we should not paint the 'darkness' around 600 so black: a good part of it comes from Herakleios' propaganda against Phokas. One can read up on this.[22]

When W. proceeds to write that at the end of the sixth century 'the darkness is not much illuminated by the figure of Theophylact Simocatta' (p. 59), this very unfair judgment is no help. Because, beside George of Pisidia, Theophylaktos certainly demonstrates the continuity of literary education into the seventh century.

But W. does not like Theophylaktos. When the Emperor Maurice receives a very weak compliment as promoter of education (8.13.16), one that is moreover modified (with λέγεται), for W. this means that Theophylaktos 'tantalises us with the bald statement'. Promotion of education quite simply belongs to the topoi of emperor praise and others gave such praise to Maurice, too.[23]

[620] As for the difficult question of the dialogue between Philosophy and History, which opens the historical work of Theophylaktos,[24] W. again displays his penchant for speculation that soars far above the sources:

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[20] Along with previous literature, see Speck in *Gnomon* 55 (1983), p. 501f.

[21] Cf. Speck, 'Zufälliges zum *Bellum Avaricum* des Georgios Pisides', *Misc. Byz. Monac.* 24 (Munich, 1980), p. 28.

[22] *Op. cit.* p. 21f. On this point, see also *Rechtshist. Journal* 3 (1984), pp. 26–28.

[23] See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), p. 77 and n. 15 (Menander Protector). See also Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 309 and n. 112. The expression in the Dialogue (see following note) is quite distinct, 5; 20.23: τὸν ἐμὸν βασιλέα Σωκράτην. (Theophylaktos on Maurice. Phokas is consequently identified as Anytas).

[24] ed. C. de Boor – P. Wirth (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 20–22.

A curious dialogue between the personified abstractions philosophy and history which prefaces his book tells us that the study of philosophy and Atticism had now become possible again. It is also said that the patriarch had given new life to history. A reference is made to the story of Alcestis, which may be meant as a sign that Theophylact was proud of knowing a play of Euripides that remained outside the list read in the schools. But the wording of a sentence about the patriarch suggests that he had created a teaching post, perhaps for the historian himself. Although it is not now fashionable to believe in the existence of a theological seminary under the aegis of the patriarch at this day, it would be perverse to deny that such a seminary may be what Theophylact in his contorted way is referring to. If his testimony is taken in isolation it is equally possible to suppose that the patriarch's patronage was a more limited act, setting up the historian perhaps as the head of a school. But we also know from an epigram by George of Pisidia that the same patriarch created a theological library and it is tempting to see a link between that and the help given to Theophylact. [The note to this has: No. 46, ed. L. Sternbach, *Wiener Studien* 14 (1982), p. 55.] In Theophylact's preface the word βῆμα εὐμενῶς ἱδρυμένον suggests to me a teaching post; Lemerle, *op. cit.* [sc. *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris 1971), p. 79] is more sceptical.

This is so impressive that one feels inclined to regard Byzantine studies as completed and seek retirement – or on the other hand to look over the dialogue once more.

As has already been remarked,[25] the dialogue was related to the 'Quaestiones physicae' of Theophylaktos. But this relationship establishes that in the course of transmission the dialogue has lost its title[26] and perhaps

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[25]   See Hunger, *Literatur*, I, p. 315.

[26]   The title Τὰ τοῦ διαλόγου πρόσωπα φιλοσοφία καὶ ἱστορία is of course no such thing. The 'Quaest. phys.' have a proper title (p. 7 Massa-Positano) followed by a title for the first *Dialexis*. After this *Dialexis* and the table of contents is found this remark, Τὰ τοῦ διαλόγου πρόσωπα 'Αντισθένης καὶ Πολυκράτης (p. 10), which corresponds to the alleged title of the Dialogue appearing before the historical work. Below one also finds: 'Αντισθένης ἢ λαβύρινθος. Lydia Massa-Positano takes this to be the main title which was then however displaced to this passage. Massa-Positano (p. 26) prints the phrase 'Αρχὴ τῆς δευτέρας διαλέξεως as the title of the second *Dialexis* but this was originally a marginal note. – This circumstance leads to certain conclusions concerning the transmission of the *Historia*: in the late antique exemplar or in the model of Vat. ms. 977, the manuscript that is fundamental today, a folio has been lost. This might even have been a display folio which contained the title of the dialogue and synopses on the recto and the *Dialexis* on the verso, so that the second folio (today the first) could begin with the 'dramatis personae' of the dialogue.

also some sort of introduction that conveyed the dialogue's immediate circumstances, something like the *Dialexis* of the 'Quaest. phys.'

In the first *Dialexis* (p. 7f. Massa-Positano) the author explains that young swallows are taught by their mothers to sing for human beings. So the μουσικώτατος σύλλογος should give the child oratorical skill and make it possible for him to προσᾴδειν θεάτρῳ and express himself in Attic; he actually learns to enter the chambers of the Muses (μουσικῶν ἐπιβαίνειν θαλάμων). But if the rhythm has to be criticised, the syllogos should complete it so to speak by using his inner ear. Later on, the syllogos is apostrophized as ἄνδρες διδάσκαλοι.

Corresponding formulations and thoughts are also found in the second *Dialexis* (p. 26, ἄνδρες διδάσκαλοι should make perfect his imperfect words.)

An interpretation can hypothetically seek to enclose these oppositions in a frame: after the *Dialexis*, so to speak the curtain rises and the dialogue begins. The author (and speaker of the *Dialexis*) is probably still the young Theophylaktos. The speakers [621] of the dialogue are two others who wear 'antique' costumes appropriate for the dialogue. The audience, the syllogos, is the teachers. The whole thing could be a graduation day organised by the city's teachers (members of the teachers' guild?). In favour of a theatrical presentation – a staged Platonic dialogue, so to speak – is the whole Platonic colouring and within it the closing words of one of the interlocutors, Polykrates: ἄπειμι χαίρων, meaning that he is happy to have learned so much.

The dialogue before Theophylaktos's history has to be interpreted similarly. It, too, presupposes an auditorium (4, 20.20 τῶν ἀκουόντων; 10, 21.15f. τῷ τε παρόντι συλλόγῳ; 14, 22.6 τοῖς φιλακροάμοσιν). But unlike the 'Quaest. phys.', allegorical figures appear here, a singular feature, in my opinion, but one that probably set limits to the circumstances of the dialogue.[27]

In fact, it seems to me there is only one situation in which the format of dialogue makes sense: Theophylaktos recites to the emperor from his history, probably the chapter he has composed first, as appears to be the case considering that the allocation of the commission had just happened. The dialogue precedes this recital and is an offering and thanksgiving to the emperor.

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[27] The closest parallel that occurs to me is the philosophy of Boethius but in this case allegories in 'Attic' costume actually appear. Chor., *Apol. Mim.* 103–109 (p. 368f. Foerster-Richtsteig) reports mimetic performances on academic festivities. Cf. H. Reich, *Der Mimus* (Berlin, 1903), I.1, p. 219.

The unanimous consensus is that in the first part of the dialogue, in which Philosophy rejoices in her return from banishment,[28] the Emperor Herakleios is addressed. When History asks Philosophy who has rescued her, it should not be a reference to the same person; that would be very boring. So Fuchs adopted the view of some more senior scholars, like J. F. Boissonade, and settled for Patriarch Sergios.[29] Bréhier, on the other hand, showed that the theological-sounding terms like ἀρχιερεύς and ἱεροφάντης[30] could also refer to the emperor, while the allusion to Alcestis[31] and the recollection of the strength ἀλεξικάκου τινὸς 'Ηρακλέους[32] definitely mean the emperor. For Sergios they would be very unsuitable.[33] Then again, Lemerle chooses the Patriarch,[34] while Hunger is for Emperor Herakleios.[35] In the end, W. acts entirely as if only the opinion that he advocates existed and hence that the Patriarch is meant. He links everything with the library named by George of Pisidia. Yet that misses the point.[36]

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[28]   Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, p. 78 n. 120 interprets τῆς βασιλέως στοᾶς as the Basilica with its classrooms that Phokas supposedly closed. But in my opinion the intended association certainly encompasses *inter alia* the palace and the Stoa Poikile in Athens. Consequently the Heraclides bring Philosophy back (6; 21.2) καὶ πρὸς τὰ βασιλέων τεμένη εἰσῴκισαν. This, however, does rather mean the palace, where Philosophy is at home again at last and can get to work. Theophylaktos wants to say that at the time of the uneducated barbarian Phokas the latter was impossible. He does not want to say that Phokas has inhibited education in philosophy by closing the relevant schools. Theophylaktos was not so foolish as to accuse Phokas of things that people still knew about or could prove (like closing schools), since Phokas certainly was not the monster that he was made out to be. Everything that was alleged against him remained on the level of unproven defamation.

[29]   F. Fuchs, 'Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter', *Byz. Arch.* 8 (1926), p. 8f.

[30]   8; 21.7. 11; 21.18.

[31]   And, please, not to show that one knows the play. How stupid should people think Theophylaktos actually was?

[32]   9; 21.11f.

[33]   L. Bréhier, 'Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople', *Byzantion* 4 (1927/8), pp. 13–28, particularly 19.

[34]   *Le premier humanisme*, p. 78f.

[35]   *Literatur*, I, p. 315. Hunger again does not quote the opposing view.

[36]   The library named is purely theological (V.2: ἄθροισμα βίβλιον ... θεογράφων) and also included heretical writings (V.8f: ἐν ῥόδοις καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας). Hence a normal school is out of the question. In the case of such a school one would also have to assume that it was conducted like a modern seminar – with a library. So it remained only a *theological seminar* (as W. in fact wants) or simply the tiresome academy in the Patriarchate. But

[622] In order to solve the problem something recomends itself that should be quite self-evident, namely trying to understand the text. After some introductory remarks and mutual compliments, Philosophy explains that she would love to tell how her daughter (History) recently came back to life.[37] But one could accuse her of not telling the truth and reproach her for sheer fantasy. Her child had been dead for a long time, since the iron-clad Calydonian tyrant stormed into the palace, the semi-barbarian, the offspring of the Cyclops, of the Centaurs, who soiled the purple and used imperial power to drink or do things far worse, things that are too horrible to mention.[38]

She herself had been banished, too, but later the Heraclides had rescued her, restored her citizenship, removed the shame from the palace and reestablished her there. That is what happened to her. But who had rescued her daughter?

Under the yet-to-be-proven assumption that Herakleios is later regarded as the rescuer of History, we must think of something else for the Heraclides: the same person twice would be too primitive. Evidently one must take the plural seriously and define the Heraclides as 'the descendants (and kindred) of the (older) Herakleios', namely Herakleios the younger, Niketas and whoever else was involved in the rebellion against Phokas. With this 'knowledge' Philosophy can of course quite unselfconsciously ask her daughter about her rescuer and get a climactic answer: Herakleios. That the Heraclides' should mean a *single* person, Herakleios, is rather out of the question. But thanks to the similarity of the father's and son's names, Theophylaktos can play with the fact that the Heraclides were active before Heracles and that Heracles himself was one of the Heraclides.

Next History asks her mother whether she does not know the great archpriest and leader of the *oikoumene* and Philosophy says that this man is an old friend of hers. History continues, this is the sought-after saviour. Taking her from the grave, reviving her[39] and with the strength of a Heracles he has raised her up

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whether this happened is not a question of fashion but of the sources that give information about such instruction. Should W. have the kindness to present these sources, I would let myself be persuaded. The passages we are dealing with here are in any event irrelevant, since the emperor is meant and the βῆμα must be interpreted as having another sense. In the epigram of George Pisides there is no mention of education.

[37]   2; 20.11f: χθὲς καὶ τρίτην. The dialogue comes not long after 610 when Theophylaktos had already begun to write again and the first samples were ready.

[38]   Centaurs do actually drink and violate young women! Every propagandistic cliche is available to use against Phokas, a situation possibly dating back to the time of the rebellion.

[39]   This is the first evidence that Theophylaktos wrote on commission from Herakleios.

again like an Alcestis. He has adopted her and given her a shining robe and a golden chain.[40]

Finally this god-like man has given her, History, the hair-knot decorated with a golden cicada, and further the present assembly and also the βῆμα with the chance to speak freely.

Now everything becomes clear: the hair-knot with the golden cicada is the mark of the true Athenian, who is both αὐτόχθονος and μουσικός[41] and who above all speaks the language faultlessly. Herakleios has therefore granted History Athenian citizenship,[42] so to speak, (and that meant the author, Theophylaktos), then has summoned this assembly[43] and also had the βῆμα erected.

[623] All questions thus are answered. The βῆμα is no doubt the podium on which the dialogue was performed and from which Theophylaktos would recite from his history. The παρρησία is finally the possibility of, risk-free, speaking well of Maurice and badly about Phokas. One can forget about a professorship (of whatever kind).

Philosophy joins in the praise of Herakleios: she says she knows this man who has reached the heights of theology, who comprises every virtue, who makes all earthly merits his own and whose aim in life is λόγοι. He does not want the world to be without ornament.[44]

The following text seems corrupt to me. §12, 21.24–22 is a literal borrowing from the conclusion of the first letter of Theophylaktos, and I could not find any meaning for the preceding words (οὕτως ὀναίμην τῶν ἐμῶν ἐραστῶν).[45]

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[40]   The allusion is to the 'golden chain of Homer', here an allegory for general wisdom and historical continuity.

[41]   See E. Schuppe, s.v. 'Tettix (2)', RE 5A c. 1111f. with numerous references.

[42]   Understand: the commission given for the historical work to be composed in the Atticizing tradition. Letter 69 by Theophylaktos does not assume that this cicada is given only to young people as in the time of Gorgias. Theophylaktos was probably not young when he began to write (see below at n. 48). But people should have quoted Letter 1, where the cicada begins to sing early in the year and turns the tree into a βῆμα and the field into a θέατρον. That refers not only to the situations in both dialogue and common formulations in them but also to the fact that the dialogue is composed ahead of the historical work and soon after the end of Phokas (so to speak in the spring of the reign of Herakleios). Cf. n. 37 above.

[43]   It is hard to specify this audience. Perhaps they were courtiers.

[44]   This ornament is education and particularly the advancement of historical writing.

[45]   Should we assume that a passage in the preface that was no longer readable was completed with the help of Letter 1? See n. 26 above.

After another round of reciprocal compliments History ends the dialogue: τήν τε τῆς ἱστορίας λύραν τινάξομαι, but Philosophy should become her plectrum.[46]

The second part of the dialogue refers to the emperor Herakleios too. The patriarch does not come into it.

Finally, since when is Sergios known as such a zealous supporter of profane studies that one could credit him with the promotion of an imperial history? Besides, an interpretation involving Sergios not only imputes a kind of equality between Emperor and Patriarch (each promoting a bit) that never really existed,[47] but also, if the Heraclides really mean Herakleios, Sergios receives the majority of the praise compared to the Emperor, who is only mentioned in one place. If Theophylaktos actually had done something like that, Herakleios would probably have responded with a charge of *lèse-majesté*. But unfortunately Herakleios is dead.

There is no doubt about the fact that Theophylaktos was promoted due to his *Historia*. But was it actually a promotion for an ex-prefect to have him work as a teacher (or maybe as a professor)? There were more elegant ways of promotion, for example, a pro-forma post in an imperial office.[48]

W. also devotes some thoughts to the subject of paper as a writing material (p. 63f), the production of which the Arabs learned from the Chinese: the oldest Greek manuscript on paper is Vat. gr. 2200, written around 800 'in one of the eastern provinces of the Byzantine world'. The next paper manuscripts date to the eleventh century, but W. would like to have paper already used in Byzantium in the ninth century.[49] He uses pretty unbelievable arguments (paper is not as durable [624] as parchment, so one cannot prove anything by referring to surviving manuscripts), plus overly subtle arguments about a passage in Arethas, to show that paper imports from the Caliphate were possible around 900.

Arethas[50] complains about a late delivery of βίβλος from Egypt. As W.

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[46] The event is therefore not finished and a lot more history awaits recitation.

[47] Not even between his son, Herakleios Konstantinos, and Sergios, during Herakleios' absence on the Persian campaign, when something of the sort was ascribed to the patriarch. Cf. Speck (as in n. 21), pp. 16–19.

[48] This can be shown in Corippus. Cf. Speck (as in n. 20), p. 502. In the case of Theophylaktos the title *antigrapheus* may indicate such a sinecure.

[49] For W. it ranks after the introduction of minuscule as a further important innovation of the post-iconoclast period.

[50] *Scripta Minora*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1968) I, nos 38–40.

explains this could refer to papyrus, but considering the Byzantines' taste for archaisms it could also mean a new writing material, even paper. This material is known as coming 'from the Nile'. But not even this gives any proof that Arethas could have meant that paper was produced in the region of the Nile. So Arethas cannot be used as proof.

Again, only a look at the sources helps. In the letter written in reply to the complaint,[51] Stephanos offers him just what is available, probably the stocks of the chancery. He says he could give him good quality stock when the ship arrives.

Should that be paper? Gradations in quality are certainly typical of papyrus!

In his answer to Stephanos, Arethas again uses the expression βίβλους Νειλώας for what is arriving with the ship from Egypt.[52] Paper from paper mills on the banks of the Nile?

Right from the start of his complaint Arethas jokes,[53] Ἡ βίβλος εἰ μὲν Βαβυλῶνος ἄρτι πρόεισι σχοίνου, εἰκότως ἄν ... meaning: if the βίβλος has just come from the reed(!), the delivery could be delayed, since the deliverer could claim that the product is not yet ready. But if it already was (produced earlier and is still in your possession), why do you not satisfy me immediately?

Either Arethas has concluded that paper, too, comes from papyrus stems and has taken paper to be a kind of papyrus (though that would no longer be an archaism, but complete ignorance which not even Stephanos has dispelled, in spite of his supplies of this writing material) or Arethas did in fact refer to papyrus.

So paper was probably not imported into Byzantium in the ninth century. Its appearance 'in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine world'[54] strictly speaking actually refers to the Caliphate. Considering all the importance the Greeks under Arab rule had regarding the transmission of Greek culture and all the contacts these Greeks had with Byzantium, if these people wrote on paper, that fact simply means that there was paper in the Caliphate. A trade in paper with Byzantium – even one just by land and through the agency of the scriptoria in the eastern provinces – is not suggested. Meanwhile, with regard

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[51] 39; p. 295.10–13.
[52] 40; p. 297.20f.
[53] 38; p. 294.1f.
[54] Mentioned by W. (p. 63) as a parallel, P. Vindob. 31 956 must have originated in the East because of its material about Andrew of Crete.

to Byzantium it is better to go to the surviving manuscripts on paper and not to go too much before this period when it comes to the introduction (import? domestic production?) of paper.

A central figure of the Byzantine renaissance of the ninth century was Leo the Philosopher. But much of what makes W. (p. 79f.) feal uneasy ('it may be true; becomes much more plausible') has long been recognized as legend and this surely applies to the whole first phase of Leo's life down to his appointment as archbishop of Thessalonike.[55] The conclusions about the chronology of this period offered by W. have already previously presented by W. T. Treadgold.[56]

The only thing that we positively know about Leo, i.e., his activity at the school of Bardas, is reported by W. (p. 80) like this: 'after the restoration of orthodoxy in the matter of icons Leo's position is obscure'. In the next sentence – 'He ... became head of a new school established in the Magnaura palace ...'. – just about everything that can be wrong is wrong. Leo was not the leader of the school, but at best a *primus inter pares*. [625] The Magnaura was of course no palace and the school was at best near the Magnaura.[57] Perhaps the only correct thing is the assertion that the school was new, though Treadgold holds a different view.[58]

Here chronological considerations lead W. to the opinion that this school was not founded after 855, but soon after 843 'on the assumption that Bardas was already very influential'. That was news to me.[59] No complete copy of the 'lexicon' of Photios was known (p. 92) 'until the discovery of one in a large collection of manuscripts unearthed in a deserted monastery at Zavorda in Macedonia in 1959'. That nearly fits: only the monastery itself is named Zavorda, it was not forgotten, either, and the manuscripts were stored in orderly fashion.

It would probably haven been more meaningful if, in lieu of this dramatic refurbishing of the discovery that unfortunately reeks of the conceit of Western civilization, W. had mentioned the name of L. Polites.

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[55] Cf. Speck (as in n. 4), p. 240. I will shortly publish an extensive analysis.

[56] 'The Chronological Accuracy of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845', in *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 33 (1979), pp. 157–97, at 186f.

[57] Cf. Speck, 'Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel', *Byz. Arch.* 14 (1974), p. 7 with n. 28.

[58] 'Chronological Accuracy', p. 187.

[59] I almost have forgotten myself (as n. 57).

Even if the opposite impression is given, not everything we read in this book is wrong, and W. also quotes secondary sources.

With regard to the question of whether there was literature to be found in the provinces, he cites (p. 94) Theophanes' 'Chronicle', a compilation of a number of sources written by a resident of the monastery Megalou Agrou on the Sea of Mamara, as proof, following C. Mango and I. Ševčenko (*DOP* 27 [1973], p. 265) in this. Unfortunately, according to the recent researches of the same Mango, Theophanes – he is the resident of Megalou Agrou – was in fact not the compiler.[60] Synkellos was, and he unquestionably worked in Constantinople.[61]

In the epilogue (p. 273) W. asserts that 'there are a number of Byzantine scholars of mediocre ability whose work survives'. Yes, but that is of no relevance to the present.

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[60] 'Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes', *Zborn. Rad. Inst.* 18 (1978), pp. 9–17.

[61] Recently also Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2; Bonn, 1981), pp. 150f. and passim.

Further Reflections and Inquiries on the Origins of the Byzantine Renaissance*

With a supplement:

The Trier Ivory and other Uncertainties

Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance mit einem Nachtrag: Das Trierer Elfenbein und andere Unklarheiten

[255] In general I always feel bored when I have to present and explain a matter for the second or even third time. This is more or less how I feel today.

For, having presented my ideas and evidence on the origins of the Byzantine Renaissance in an essay as early as 1984,[1] I first thought to underpin the results which were published there, with more individual research and summarize these so to speak on a higher level. In this sense then the printed version of the presentation, which is available to you, is a detailed investigation in which I straighten out the image of the patriarch Tarasios as presented by Ignatios the Deacon and at the same time can reveal a personal literary rivalry between Ignatios and Theodore of Stoudios. Accordingly today's presentation should, too, offer further detailed results and further confirm my thesis.

In the meantime, however, a review of the above-mentioned essay by a

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* A version of the presentation held in fact at the 17th International Byzantine Congress in Washington DC in 1986. The version 'Die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance' [above, ch. XII] published in the acts (The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers, New Rochelle, New York, 1986, p. 555–576) is not identical to the present one and deals with other aspects of the problem. See footnote 6 below for supplements and corrections to the version in the acts.

[1] 'Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (Bonn, 1984), pp. 175–210.

renowned Byzantinist appeared in a renowned journal.[2] In this it is established
that I do not say 'what was the core of the social and cultural development from
the seventh to the ninth centuries.' – 'On this question Speck leaves us in the
same darkness in which we began.' – I much regret that the darkness of the
Dark Ages remains so impenetrable that even I was not able to bring light to it,
at least not with an essay. In any case, this is the reason why today I try to
present my theses again briefly before presenting – as was originally planned –
some detailed results as well, which I consider altogether more constructive
than large, overarching theses.

[256] First of all, I would like to try and clarify what the Byzantine
renaissance at the beginning of the ninth century actually is. This examination
has to include iconoclasm and its pre-history as well, since – as I hope to show
– the Byzantine renaissance embodies the answer to political changes, to which
iconoclasm had previously been an attempted response; an attempt, however,
that had to fail.

The great catastrophes of the sixth and seventh centuries, which can be
crudely delineated with the key words 'Arabs, Avars and Slavs', shook
Byzantium much more severely than we, who prefer to see continuity in
Byzantium, most often admit clearly. Large parts of the former Roman Empire
were now definitely the realm of new powers, which presented themselves to
the Byzantines as neighbours. A cultural decline is perceptible in many areas.
In literature, in particular, it signifies the ceasing of the atticizing tradition of
the Second Sophistic.

All in all the complete collapse of the remaining parts of the empire seemed
inevitable. That the empire was nonetheless able to survive these catastrophes
was for the Byzantines themselves a miracle: the image of Christ, which the
patriarch Sergios carried in procession around the walls of Constantinople
during the siege of 626, saved the city and hence the Empire. The Emperor
Herakleios also had carried images with him during all his undertakings.

Whereas earlier images had essentially narrative functions, they now acted
as representatives of the depicted and were worshipped accordingly. This
image worship was also propagated with increasing intensity. One first climax
of this development is the reign of Emperor Justinian II, who on his coins as
well as at the entrance of the palace, at the Chalke, had the depiction of the
cross replaced by the image of Christ. A further climax of this development is

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[2]   A. Kazhdan, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 78 (1985), p. 375.

the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717/18. Emperor Leo III was able to save the city with God's help, after patriarch Germanos had remembered his predecessor and processed over the city walls with the image of Mary and the relics of the cross. Leo himself had the image of Mary on his seals.

However, we are in the Middle Ages: God and man can directly [257] interact with each other. In particular, God can express his pleasure to men and above all also his displeasure. That is what he did in 726: Leo III interpreted the great earthquake off Thera and Therasia as a sign from God, that he should continue the victorious defense against the Arabs until he had restored the empire to its former size; however, he should do this not under the sign of an image but under that of the cross, under which the earlier emperors from Constantine to Herakleios had been victorious, but which however had been neglected in recent times.

As an external sign of this attitude, Leo had the image of Christ on the Chalke replaced by a cross. This attitude found support with some bishops who also wanted to reestablish the previous situation: their theological arguments were to spread the cross, instead of the cult of images. With a few exceptions, the majority of the clergy and of the people agreed with it. For, – and one has to be clear on that – in the early eighth century the cult of images was far from being generally introduced, in such a way that the Emperor Leo seemingly would have had to assert himself against an overwhelming majority of image-worshippers. This is the later iconophile interpretation of history. Hence at that time no persecutions or cases of martyrdom occur.

Fifteen years later: in military terms Constantine could vanquish the usurper Artabasdos, who had presented himself as Leo's rightful successor and denied the qualification of sovereign to Constantine V due to the latter's ill health. But Artabasdos' propaganda, according to which Constantine was possessed and hence hated Christ and was thus a χριστομάχος, kept its effectiveness for a long time so that Constantine saw himself forced to reinterpret and intensify the line his father took in order to establish his legitimacy. The supposed hater of Christ presented himself as a believing worshipper of the only true Christ – and not of his image. For him, too, the trigger was a natural catastrophe: the great plague of 746. Now also the thought surfaced that the real evil consisted in the proskynesis to images. The latter should be prevented above all by removing the images which are 'at the front' of the church, where they thus are likely, so to speak, to share in the proskynesis which is usual in the liturgy. That way, depictions of the cross came to the apses.

[258] The theological debate now intensively breaking out, with on the one side, amongst others, John of Damascus, George of Cyprus, and Hypatios of Ephesos, and on the other Theodosios of Ephesos and in particular the emperor himself, led to the council of 754.[3] In the debate, they began to forget the actual reason for iconoclasm, namely the restoration of the empire as it was before the great catastrophes, under the sign of the cross.

With the death of Constantine, everything changed: now it was possible to distance oneself from this 'monster' in order to present oneself in a positive light. The restoration of the cult of images by the empress Eirene – or more precisely, the first theological justification of the necessity of the cult of images – leaves therefore emptiness behind. The images, which by the way hardly interested anyone, could not conceal the real problem that iconoclasm was not capable of fulfilling its goal as an ideology, namely to undo the great catastrophes that had befallen the empire. Constantine's cross had not restored the empire to its former size, but the images had saved the small remnants of the empire from downfall. The new neighbours, however, particularly the Franks and Arabs, who continued nonetheless to exist, showed no consideration for Byzantium in their policies, and had their own cultural agenda, which was more or less directly aimed against Byzantium.

This is to be understood in the following way: these states also lay within the territory of the Roman Empire and for their legitimacy needed cultural justification of their existence. They had to prove that their militarily and politically obtained existence also had its legitimacy in the cultural realm, namely that they were indeed the actual successors of Greco-Roman culture. Byzantium had one significant advantage in this rivalry in that it did not need any justification of the political succession, because it could fall back upon its 'own' history.

[259] For Byzantium this was in every respect a 'falling back'. Around the turn of the ninth century they began to pick up all those threads that had broken under the impact of the great catastrophes; this means that the whole

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[3]   For the individual discussion of these questions cf. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2 (Bonn, 1981) and 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΛΥΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (1984) [above, ch. VIII]. – Here I may be permitted a remark: D.J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. The 'Heresy of the Ismaelites'* (Leiden, 1972), p. 47f., already determined the death of John of Damascus to be after 749/50 (*terminus post quem*) and possibly even after 754 (the council is not a *terminus ante quem*); I should have cited him in *Artabasdos*, p. 180, note 591.

antiquarian-classicizing tradition of the Second Sophistic was revived. To put it clearly: a reaching back to 'Classical Antiquity', as it is called today, was not intended. Only what was alive in the sixth century was revived; for Classical Antiquity this means the passive reception of philology, nothing more.

Thus literary genres like, for example, historiography, epigrams, anacreontic poetry, epic encomiastic, and others resurfaced, and it was more or less possible to pretend that these threads had never broken, or – from an ideological point of view – that the great catastrophes along with their consequences had never happened. Thus, however, what was reality in the sixth century became fiction. This 'suppression of reality by means of literature' is the true core of the Byzantine renaissance. It was the actual motive which stimulated the literati and inspired them to write in a way as if there were never any catastrophes and as if their consequences, namely the new neighbours on the territory of the Roman Empire, did not exist.

Their role is indeed repressed, and there exists instructive evidence for that:

That the great catastrophes had political and cultural consequences was a fact to be repressed; on the other hand, however, the Byzantines' own performance, the taking up of all literary genres, was a cause of pride, and they wanted to make their achievements known. But there was still the iconoclasm that had failed as an ideology and had been completely discredited in the person of Constantine V. This, too, had to be repressed. As iconoclasm originally – often more unconsciously than consciously – had the goal of expelling the barbarians from the territory of the Roman Empire, one would otherwise come up against the great catastrophes and their consequences. Therefore, not only was the failure of iconoclasm interpreted as a failure of a false theology, which had been invented by truly evil men, but also the decline of education was attributed to these iconoclasts, because they had eradicated all their opponents – and these were of course the educated people of the Empire. Notably [260] it says in Theophanes that with the arrest of the iconophiles by Leo III 'τὰ παιδευτήρια σβεσθῆναι'.[4] Thus one could show one's own performance, point to a scapegoat for the decay in education, and would not have to give the actual reasons. Therefore it was possible to ignore the great catastrophes with their consequences.

All these factors are only at work at the beginnings of the Byzantine renaissance around 800. It would be too much to present the stages of these

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[4]   Theoph. 405; cf. Also *Kaiserliche Universität* (Munich, 1974), pp. 77–84.

beginnings today. They are found to a large degree as a literary and religious polemic in the epigrams on the Chalke of the palace.[5]

In the following, I would like to go more into the second phase of this renaissance, when it had already become independent of the religious debate and turned into an exclusively literary one. I am thinking of the already mentioned Ignatios the Deacon and Leo the Mathematician who both, with Photios, led the renaissance to its first peak.

As far as concerns Ignatios, I have analysed the *Vita* of Tarasios in the printed version of my presentation with particular attention to the early renaissance.[6] Here I would like to present something on the *Vita* of Nikephoros

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[5]   Cf. *Konstantin VI.* (Munich, 1978), pp. 606–619, with a supplement, *Artabasdos*, p. 376 note 649. – Here too I have something to add: The connection between the right faith and the right metre (*Konstantin VI.*, p. 612f.), which had been demanded first by Theodore of Stoudios, is then found again, as in the legend of the two γραπτοί, as K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897), p. 707f. correctly recognised: for them it did not matter that the verses they were branded with were bad!

[6]   One further reflection deserves to be presented. Germanos, the last iconophile patriarch, could later on also be presented as a representative of high literary education, cf. *Klassizismus* (*Rev. Etud. Byz.* 44 [1986]), p. 226. In the same way Ignatios thus could hardly done anything else but present the first patriarch after the (first) iconoclasm, namely Tarasios, likewise as a literary educated man. This reflection does not replace the arguments presented but should be added as a further one. – Some supplementary remarks may be permitted me at this point:

1.   The assumption that the polemical chapter (22.28–ca. 23.11) including the address to the heretic is interpolated (p. 564f. [=p. 155f. here]), is supported by the observation that the same reflection along with the address to the heretic is written in more detail in the *Adv. Constantinum Cabalinum* (PG 95, 313B/C). There, it is possibly borrowed from the Νουθεσία γέροντος (there without the address), as B.M. Melioranskii, *Georgii Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin* (St.-Petersburg, 1901), p. 5f. explains.
2.   That Tarasios is buried in his own monastery is also mentioned in Theoph. 481.18f. On p. 567 [=p. 158 here] I argue that there is no reason why Tarasios would have consecrated the church to all martyrs. This is not a necessary argument. For, even in the case that Tarasios had consecrated his burial church to all martyrs, there is no reason – not even in Ignatios' text – why this church would be all decorated with scenes of martyrdom. The assumption then, however, that the church was perhaps consecrated to a group of martyrs is unnecessary, and it is possible to find in this dedication the point of departure for the synkrisis.
3.   The text of the famous passage 29.7f. (see p. 568 [=p. 159 here]) seems to be incorrect; at least the distribution of the cola of the sentence to the individual metres seems only with great difficulty adjustable to a meaningful whole. Only if Ignatios speaks again

[261], namely about a brief note and a longer passage,[7] in which we learn something about teachers and school education.

[262] Nikephoros' father – it is said at the beginning – had died at the time when he had started the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία and learned to read and write. This, then, is nothing else but a description of 'childhood' and says nothing about what the beginning stages of Nikephoros' school education looked like.[8] However, in relation to the Byzantine renaissance the information is of significance: as Nikephoros was brought up in an orthodox way, although he had grown up at the time of iconoclasm, he enjoyed an extensive education. Absence of education befitted only iconoclasts.

A little later Ignatios praises the great piety of Nikephoros: he had experienced no desires but had dedicated himself only to religious studies and τοῖς μαθήμασι. – This is indirectly an indication that Ignatios himself, and, as he assumes, Nikephoros as well, acquired most of their education by themselves.

At least, Ignatios continues, mentioning the μαθήματα offers him the opportunity to speak further about Nikephoros' zeal for them.

Nikephoros enjoyed a secular education, too, besides a religious one. With the one (the religious) he wanted to increase his persuasiveness with respect to the orthodox believers, and with the other he wanted to refute heresy. Secular education – and this is a topos – is not an end in itself but requires justification:

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pompously and mentions only 'trimeters', 'trochaic and anapaestic tetrameters' and 'epic poems' is this possible. However, this is not very plausible.

4. That the essay mentioned in note 66 ever appears is becoming more and more improbable. I have included here some important results.

5. The most annoying oversight, however, is the following: To mark the death of my colleague Paul Moraux I had dedicated the version in the acts to his memory. This dedication was inadvertently forgotten somewhere in the process of preparing the print. I cannot do anything but to repeat it at this point:

In memoriam Paul Moraux (†26 September 1985).

[7] The *Vita* of Nikephoros in: *Nikephoros*, pp. 139–217; the two passages are 144.6f. and 148.10–152.13.

[8] Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 6; Paris, 1971), p. 130, understands the sentence: ἄρτι τότε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἐφαπτομένῳ καὶ τὴν διὰ χειρῶν καὶ μέλανος τέχνην πονωμένῳ. as if Nikephoros had gone through a secondary education and an education for public service at the same time. That is nonsense. He had just learned to write.

with it one can refute pagans. By using this topos, Ignatios shows not so much that at his time a secular education would have had to be justified, but rather that he readopts a tradition of justification which had existed in Late Antiquity, essentially in order to document this very same readoption.

Just as virtue grows out of the knowledge of just and unjust laws, so one also needs both strands of education. N.B: this, too, is a topos that originates from the necessity for the justification [263] of a secular education in Late Antiquity, ever since the Christians gave up their own Christian education in the fourth century and this was forcibly pointed out to them by Emperor Julian.

After Ignatios has then clarified that the two strands are not equal – master and servant are not on the same level –, he mentions the fields in which Nikephoros is superior: grammar and its parts, with the help of which the Ἑλληνὶς γλῶσσα – even this word is justified through tradition – and its quantities are correctly handled. In the same way, Nikephoros was an expert at rhetoric.

Disregarding the almost banal fact that, probably in the ninth century too, grammar was taught before rhetoric, we do not learn anything precise. Hence one may have every doubt that this is a portrayal of the kind of education that the historical Nikephoros received in his youth. Rather, it is concerned with what Ignatios himself considered as important and right in education. Nonetheless, Ignatios' compliment is legitimate: after all, we know it was Nikephoros in his *Historia* who, after the Dark Ages, first attempted to write again in a higher style. Thus he is to be regarded as the first inspirer of the Byzantine renaissance. It seems to me not impossible that this is implied by Ignatios.

Correspondingly, the same can be said about the following: Ignatios presents there the mathematical τετρακτύς, namely the *quadrivium*. It is as far as I know the first instance in Byzantium of the use of a term corresponding to *quadrivium*.[9] Could Ignatios have picked the term up from the West? – I cannot offer an explanation.

Of course, Nikephoros is the best in all parts of the *quadrivium*. Again, on the basis of this statement, one can neither conclude that Nikephoros was well-versed in these fields nor that Ignatios knew much about them, nor,

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[9]   Also, later on this term in no way became as widely disseminated as the term *quadrivium*. Thus the *'Quadrivium' de Georges Pachymère* published by P. Tannery (Vatican, 1940) is entitled in the original: Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων.

finally, that the *quadrivium* was in any way part of the educational program of the time.

[264] The only acceptable conclusion is that Ignatios knew what the *quadrivium* contained and that it was part of the educational canon in Late Antiquity. Whether he indeed supported the idea that one should learn the *quadrivium*, is a question I have doubts about. For his attitude towards music betrays him: Nikephoros allegedly had not perfected playing the lyre of Pythagoras, but rather the one with the one hundred and fifty strings, that is, the psaltery. With that he was able to save his herd. Such a report belongs to the sphere of the advantages of religious education over the secular one and shows that – besides documenting his knowledge about the subject – Ignatios was quite indifferent towards the theory of music.

The peak of Nikephoros' education is – what else could it be? – philosophy. Here, too, he is extraordinary in every respect. Ignatios presents his knowledge in a detailed manner and enumerates in more than 28 lines which terms and definition Nikephoros had mastered. Paul Alexander has conjectured that here Ignatios wrote out the pinax of a work on logic and physics. Paul Lemerle cites (futile) attempts to demonstrate in these lines some kind of 'Aristotelian' system.[10] I consider this listing– also due to the usage of the double dactyl – as Ignatios' work through which he shows his own knowledge. However, this is mostly book knowledge and he has not gained understanding of it.

The conclusion of the chapter on education consists of an investigation into Nikephoros' virtues. Here, Ignatios explains that Christian humility is the true philosophy and that in this respect as well Nikephoros outdoes everybody else. And what do we learn from this about education? Nothing but one casual remark that people had to acquire great parts of their education by themselves.

What Ignatios presents here, all in all, is his own education, or rather what he knows about an educational canon and considers worthy of remark. Further conclusions are not admissible for either the eighth or the ninth century. It is apparent, however, to what degree Late Antiquity is a point of orientation for Ignatios and to what degree he presents its measures as valid in his time. In this respect as well, he represents the basic attitude of the Byzantine renaissance.

[265] Ignatios the Deacon therefore does not only revive several genres – partly in competition with Theodore of Stoudios – but also is conscious of the

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[10]   P. Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), p. 57, note 3; Lemerle, *Premier humanisme*, p. 132f.

fact that he needs to present an adequate ideology. Nonetheless Ignatios is still a mediocre spirit; his significance lies more in the opinions he represents or does not represent rather than in the poetic or intellectual qualities of his work.

It is very different with Leo the Mathematician. Doubts about his intellectual capacity are completely out of place. And the Byzantines themselves honoured his significance by making him the real originator of the Byzantine renaissance and by attributing the revival of a higher educational system to him.

There is plenty of evidence for the fact that higher education was struggling in the Dark Ages. Amongst others there is the already quoted passage from Theophanes that due to Leo III's arresting of iconophiles the παιδευτήρια came to a standstill. This probably means – for one could not lie all too outrageously in Byzantium either – that at the time of composition of this note,[11] not too many such schools existed. Rather, education, where it is found, – and this is still true for the early years of the Byzantine renaissance – was acquired through personal, private instruction or by studying on one's own. A system of higher education hence did not play a part. When occasionally later saints' lives report the opposite, they project [266] the situation of their time back into the past and therefore prove nothing.

The first references to schools existing in the ninth century are connected with the person of Leo the Mathematician. The following is reported about him:[12] He owed his education to studying on his own. He travelled all over the land to find old manuscripts and acquire further knowledge. He had to earn his living laboriously by teaching in a wooden shack. Nobody recognized him.

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[11]   Some time between 787 and 815. However, I often feel that later on people still worked on 'Theophanes', although I am not able to be precise about this at the moment. There is, for example, hardly any occasion that might give rise to a 'positive' *Vita*(?) of Constantine VI (see further below p. 195) before 815, but this is much more likely around 820, when the *Vita* of Philaretos was rewritten in a manner favourable to Constantine VI. Cf. *Konstantin VI.*, pp. 204–206.

It seems to me increasingly probable (cf. already *Artabasdos*, p. 83) that Theophanes had rather left behind an unbound dossier than a worked-out manuscript, that Anastasius Bibliothecarius constructed his translation from this 'pack', and the archetype of the transmitted Greek text came into being only later from this very pack. Of course, the place of or an opportunity for additions are only visible where the archetype deviates from Anastasius. What Anastasius presents as well was already included in the dossier as early as 874. As a general rule, then, the transmission history of Theophanes does not offer any means for dating additions.

[12]   For the sources, see *Kaiserliche Universität*, pp. 1–3.

Altogether, the situation was desperate. Education existed, if it existed at all, remote in the provinces and nobody regarded it highly.

Then one of his pupils was taken prisoner. He astonished everybody with his mathematical knowledge. Even Caliph Mamun learnt about this prisoner and wanted to have his teacher in his country, too. So he wrote to Leo in Constantinople, asking him to come to the caliphate. Fortunately for the Byzantines, Leo reported the event to the emperor who therefore learnt what a great mind lived in his country. He did not of course think about letting such an important figure leave the country, but decided to help Leo himself instead. Therefore he received the school in the church of the Forty Martyrs.

However, the caliph did not give up. Now he even wrote to the emperor and offered a fortune as well as eternal peace, if Leo was allowed to come for even a short period of time. However, the emperor remained firm; at least, however, he had Leo consecrated bishop of Thessalonike in compensation.

So much about the first part of Leo's activity as a teacher. To put it quite bluntly, I consider this whole story as a legend as all this is quite common in vitae of emperors.[13] This can be proven through internal and external inconsistencies.

First of all, the chronological references do not correspond.[14] [267] Then,

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[13] See below p. 195f.

[14] Caliph Mamun died in 833; Leo, however, became the bishop of Thesslonike only in 840. Lemerle, *Premier humanisme*, pp. 152–54, takes the story as historical and declares the connection between the Caliph's last offer and the nomination to bishop as the only error. W.T. Treadgold, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845', *Dumb. Oaks. Pap.* 33 (1979), pp. 157–97, at 187f., defends the date of the chronographer, namely [267] 838. (The story is consequential to the fall of Amorion.) He proposes that through the error in the version of Theoph. Cont. the name Mamun entered the text instead of the contemporary Mutasim (833–843). However, that does not work because the one who is interested in education is Caliph Mamun – in reality as well as in legend, see G. Strohmeier, 'Byzantinisch-arabische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus', *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, ed. H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (Berl. Byz. Arb. 51; Berlin, 1983), pp. 179–83, especially p. 180. Even if one argues that this is precisely why the name Mamun ousted that of Mutasim, there still remain numerous discrepancies about the story. As in the version of the chronographers Leo received his education in the Magnaura from the very beginning, even before becoming bishop, we cannot conclude – as Treadgold does, p. 187 – that Theophilos already had founded the school of the Magnaura and that Bardas later brought Leon back to the school, claiming that the mention of a school at the church of the 40 Martyrs can be explained by the fact that there existed a church of the 40 Martyrs in the palace in the area of the Magnaura. It

the wooden shack does not fit with the fact that further education is carried on in it (or there were at least some disciples who did not participate in the general disdain for education).

Also, there is no plausible reason in historical terms why it was necessary to travel through the provinces to find classical manuscripts.[15] The legend becomes, however, fully apparent when we [268] try to picture what it is actually said and supposed to be justified.

I have already said that the Byzantine renaissance followed to a large degree the intellectual clashes with the new neighbours, the Franks and especially the Arabs. The present legend now proves that the Byzantines thought in the same way: only because the Arabs become aware of a significant person, do they notice the Byzantines and foster them.[16] The critique is unmistakable: without

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is correct that the version of the chronographers on the one hand wanted to concretize the legend by bringing together the imprisonment of Leo's pupil with Amorion, and that on the other hand it confused the (historical) foundation by Bardas with the (legendary) foundation by Theophilos – at least as far as locations are concerned. However, this version can still not explain why Leo became bishop. See already the reservations that I tried to work round in my *Kaiserliche Universität*, p. 4, note 17. Probably Leo made an ordinary career as a cleric, which he had to interrupt after 843, so that Bardas' support of him can be understood as a means of providing for his living expenses. In fact, the only things that are known about Leo are that he was bishop in 840–843 and that he then received a post from Bardas in the school of the Magnaura. Everything that is reported about Leo before 840 has to be regarded as a legend. As far as the school of the church of the 40 Martyrs is concerned, it is of course unclear whether it was already established in the ninth century. It seems possible that this school too had some contribution in the emergence of the legend, perhaps because it wanted to have part in Leo's fame.

[15]   It is possible that things of local importance were occasionally found in the provinces, like for example the writings of Hypatios II, cf. 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ', p. 230. However, it can be excluded that one could successfully search there for tragedians or philosophers. That belongs to the treasury of legends of the adventurous in vitae of emperors (cf. below p. 195). The same is true for the wise man of Andros, who is shrouded in mystery (for details about him, cf. Lemerle, *Premier humanisme*, p. 149) and who provided Leo with important bits of education. He, too, belongs to the realm of imagination and only shows that there was no education in Constantinople at the time.

[16]   This is emphasized through the almost chauvinist remark in Theoph. Cont. 190, 19–21 (Bonn) (justification of Theophilos' refusal to Mamun): it is nonsense to give one's own good to others and to give away the knowledge of 'what is true'(!) to foreigners (pagans: ἔθνεσι), the knowledge, through which the lineage of the Rhomaioi is admired and honoured everywhere. Quite correctly I. Ševčenko pointed out to me in discussion that these are all attitudes of the tenth century and that they are not necessarily applicable to the ninth

the Arabs, Leo would have never been discovered in spite of all his personal efforts, and he would still be teaching in his shack. Byzantium would have remained without culture.

One more thing can be taken from the story: in no way does it state precisely how the school by the church of the Forty Martyrs functioned. It does not seem to put emphasis on that at all. The story is only interested in how Leo is freed from all worries through this school because the emperor had intervened as a maecenas. According to the legend, with this act public imperial support of education begins anew. How we should picture this – Leo receives in addition to room and board also some kind of salary so that he has a greater income with the same (namely: common) tuition fee – we had better not ask. Since it is a legend, it cannot bear concrete questions.

Leo's story continues: in the year 840 he becomes bishop of Thessalonike. This cannot be doubted. It is questionable only [269] whether this office was so attractive for a well-paid teacher in the capital that he accepted it. Therefore he probably was not a teacher.[17]

In 843 Leo lost his office as bishop with the end of iconoclasm. Fairly soon after that Bardas founded his school, which worked with four teachers at four locations, amongst others also at the Magnaura. Now we are in the territory of history. The school was on the one hand private (in so far as Bardas did not support it on the basis of his official position) and on the other hand public, since one could assume that Bardas received the money from public funds.

The school primarily served the purpose of advancing Bardas' personal reputation. That means, however, that within half a century of the Byzantine renaissance, financial contribution to schools became significant for rich patrons.

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century. Even if it is possible to date these sources earlier (cf. below p. 195), their content is certainly an *interpretatio posterior* and not contemporary thinking. It is, however, true as well that especially as far as collective social psychology is concerned, things – like the legends in Byzantium – are present in the unconscious for a longer period of time before they can be articulated. The low number of sources often requires jumps which one would like to refrain from.

[17]   The numerous later cases when educated men, partly even against their will, move to the provinces and become bishops is not a sound counter argument. In the best case they were godfathers to the legend. It remains therefore unknown what Leo did before 840 and why he became a bishop.

Furthermore, this school was organised with four departments, one of which was led by Leo. There are not universally proficient teachers, who later can mostly be found, that teach all subjects, but there are specialists for philosophy, geometry, astronomy, and grammar. This is an unusual combination and one is tempted to conjecture that more specialists were not available, at least none to cover some of the *artes*.

Here it is unclear either what the salary of the teachers was. In particular, we do not learn whether the students paid for this tuition or whether they received grants. Also, it is not explained how the school worked – whether the students studied with all four teachers at the same time in turns or whether they studied with only one of them. To slightly reword the question; whether they specialized in the sense of a 'college', building on a previously obtained level of secondary school education. I think that we have to assume them to be secondary schools in which the teachers had only a reputation of being specialists. All the rest is Bardas polishing his own image.

One more thing is worth noting: it says in the sources that at the beginning of Bardas' effort to found the school, he undertook this project because education had crumbled thanks to the stupidity and lack of education of earlier emperors. Precisely the same sources overlook this remark (that it [270] is a common topos is not relevant to the question) and tell the story of Leo including his sponsorship by the Emperor Theophilos. This contradiction shows that in the source's model[18] two independent reports about the earliest support for Leo's teaching were not properly connected. In the report about Bardas' foundation some of his propaganda seems to have been preserved. It therefore indirectly confirms that the report about the early support for Leo by Theophilos is part of the legend.

At the moment it is impossible for me to tell who created this legend. It had to be someone who begrudged Bardas the credit for having first supported education again and someone who at the same time perhaps wanted to give the school of the Forty Martyrs a present of a greater age and a prominent founder. I do not want to present further speculations.

What remains, however, is that this legend gives us the necessary information on how it was possible for someone in Byzantium to describe the rivalry with the Arabs over the revival of education, without making it seem incredible.

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[18]   Probably an emperor's *Vita*, as mentioned below, p. 195f.

Indeed, it proves to be the case that we can understand the Byzantine renaissance only in a frame of reference that encompasses all states and cultures in the Mediterranean. Let me carry this thought a little further: apart from the Byzantine state, the new states of the Arabs and Franks, which after the upheavals of Late Antiquity were constituted on the territory of the former Roman Empire, were also in a phase of political and military consolidation around the year 750. No larger shifts or alterations occur anymore. However, instead something else begins to gain importance for everyone, something that one could call a reverting to the culture of their predecessors in the region.

This phenomenon was first perceived in the West and there it was called the Carolingian renaissance. For Byzantium it has only recently been discovered that what was formerly called the Macedonian renaissance has to be dated much earlier, indeed already to the end of the eighth century.[19] And as far as the Arabs, [271] whom I regard in the same light, are concerned, no one has yet thought of calling their adoption of classical education, which also happened at that time, a 'renaissance'.[20] As if it was self-evident, and differently from the Franks, the Arabs embraced the East Mediterranean custom of using their own language. However, it is not difficult to prove that it is the same for all three. The Arabs, for example, have legends according to which the Greeks have so to speak failed, so that the Arabs now have to look after their cultural tradition.[21]

The reason, it seems to me, is that after the political consolidation in the second half of the eighth century both the Arabs and the Franks felt the need

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[19]   This is the only thing I share with W.T. Treadgold, 'The Macedonian Renaissance', in: Treadgold, ed. *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, 1984), pp. 75–98. A refutation of his theses is given by mine, per se.

[20]   Following the suggestion of the author of the review, as in note 2 above, there was a discussion after the presentation about a suitable term for this 'phenomenon' (German readers will remember terms like 'Zone', 'DDR', and German Democratic Republic). It is too easily overlooked that every concept (renaissance, humanism, revival, etc.) is already shaped before its use through previous applications and that it cannot properly cover what happened in Byzantium. We cannot avoid, therefore, either inventing an entirely new term ('Late Antique Adoption' – but that would be ridiculous) or using a preexisting term, with reservations. 'Renaissance' suggests itself, because it is already familiar, and the attribute 'Byzantine' (instead of 'Macedonian', because of the new earlier date) will provide enough clarity, so that we can avoid confusing the Macedonians with the Medici or the Borgia. If it does this, I am indifferent as to which term is adopted.

[21]   Strohmeier, as n. 14 above.

to legitimize their newly obtained position in cultural terms as well.[22] Likewise, the Byzantines began to underpin their position with a corresponding legitimization, and they even had the better argument in this since they could fall back on something that was their own, though admittedly they were exposed to the danger of repressing reality.

[272] Something further ensues from this constellation. The same phenomenon, that is, the adoption of classical education, had different effects on the Franks and Arabs on the one hand and on the Byzantines on the other. What the Arabs and the Franks adopted turned out to be a challenge that these cultures could meet. From Arabic astronomy to Dante's poetry, classical culture was not an impediment, but rather inspired prolific achievements of their own. The situation in Byzantium was completely different! Especially because a repression of reality remained – differently from the Franks and Arabs, this reality had negative connotations – the leaning towards 'one's own' also became a fetter as it signified obligations of form and content. Byzantium could not free itself from this fetter. It has been asked over and over again why no new cultural forms developed in Byzantium, contrary to the tendency in the West; why there was no Dante, why no Gothic period or whatever you prefer. This mechanism of adoption with a binding norm, joined with an act of repression, seems to me the cause that did not allow a deviation from this norm.

That this is not pure speculation can even be demonstrated. Indeed, the Byzantines were basically by nature just as little stiff and inflexible as the Arabs or Franks, and they did not live in a corset of literary convention. Particularly in the Dark Ages, when they were still naively Roman and took this for granted, and when categories of continuity did not forcibly shape their thoughts, there was enough freedom to tread new and promising paths, especially in literature.

In saying this, I do not only think of the new form of the canon in liturgical poetry or the shaping of the fifteen-syllable verse and its use in ceremonial poetry, but even more of the narrative literature, which is closely related to

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[22] One reason was certainly that both Arabs and Franks had to interact with former subordinates of the Empire who had a corresponding cultural consciousness. For the Arabs it is simply noted that a certain time after building the caliphate they felt a need for education and thus encountered the Greeks. J.J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', in Treadgold (ed.), as n. 19 above, pp. 59–74, mentions that for the Carolingian, the rulers had the urge to raise moral qualities in the Empire. Perhaps the rulers themselves believed that, but this was not the reason.

novels and fairy tales and which has its closest parallels in the tales of the *Arabian Nights*. I do not know whether this is a case of influence of or falling back on a common late antique substrate of the eastern Mediterranean, or perhaps both of these. Such works are not preserved in their complete original form. We know them first from revisions with a Christian meaning, as is the case with the *Vitae* of Symeon Salos, whose [273] place as Pantomimus is actually on stage. Or, there is the *Vita* of Philaretos, which is nothing other than a picaresque novel given a Christian reinterpretation and a political updating.[23] Then there is a large number of fragments of such works incorporated in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes. Here they are always individual episodes from *vitae* of emperors: for example the Caucasian episode from a *Vita* of Leo III, or from a *Vita* of Constantine V the monk's wedding of Michael Lachanodrakon, which is originally from the Apocalyptic literature.[24] Or the final remorse of a villain who on his deathbed asks people to worship Mary whom he had despised all his life. Then there is the marvellous episode from a *Vita* of Constantine VI, with the horse droppings which are sent to the Bulgarian ruler instead of the tribute,[25] or the assertion that he was blinded in the Porphyra, where he was born as well. All this has nothing to do with historic accuracy and at best demonstrates dislike or admiration for the ruler. While we have only fragments from these vitae, we know whole vitae about later emperors, which, however, having been rewritten under the influence of the Byzantine renaissance in an amateurish way into a dreadful Attic, cannot be regarded as great literature, which they used to be. I have the so-called Theophanes Continuatus in mind. However, here we also have all the motifs

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[23]   See above note 11. – In his lecture 'New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints', published in the acts of the 17th International Byzantine Congress (see above, n. *, pp. 537–54, L. Rydén treats the *Vita* of Philaretos (p. 542f.). He does cite note 23 of *Konstantin VI.* along with my opinion that this *Vita* is one of the finest works of Byzantine literature. However, although he commends me in note 58 again, he does not say that his whole theory of the political actuality of the *Vita* in the year 820 is with a few variations presented already in *Konstantin VI.* The reason why he does not say this is known only to the Gods since every reader who follows his note will discover it.

[24]   Cf. L. Rydén, 'The Andreas Salos Apocalypse', *Dumb. Oaks. Pap.* 28 (1974), pp. 197–261, at 203 (857A) and 241 (not that the apocalypse refers to the historic Constantine V).

[25]   Differently to what I wrote in *Konstantin VI.*, p. 394, it is not the case that Theoph. 470.16–20 is part of this *Vita* of Constantine VI, but rather of a chronicle.

mentioned,[26] from the prophetic monk in Philomelion [274] to the key to Michael II's fetters, which Leo V had hidden so well that it could no longer be found after he had been murdered. One should not look for historical truth in these tales.

This kind of literature ceases under the influence of the Byzantine renaissance[27] and resurfaces later only from time to time – for example in the true Ptochoprodromos who again knows how to express humour.[28] However, these are single gems. In general, Atticist literature, which is not always bad, indeed sometimes even very good – like some pieces that my teacher, Hans-Georg Beck recently presented – is predominant, but altogether it is a stream of literature condemned to sterility. It cannot become fruitful and whenever it detaches itself from classical models, it remains endebted to Western literary forms, until long after the end of Byzantium.

My interpretation of the Byzantine renaissance is therefore one of a conscious readopting of late antique literature. This is what it had in common with the Franks and Arabs. It will probably never be decisively shown who was the particular *primus movens*.[29] Subsequently, however, the development of the Franks and Arabs took different paths from Byzantium. As the former were in part geographically situated outside the borders of the Roman Empire,

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[26]   Ms Claudia Ludwig pointed this out to me for the first time in a discussion when I treated such questions in the course of a lecture. I thank her at this point again for this important observation. – These *vitae* demonstrate many stylistic elements typical of this kind of literature, like for example direct speech, which is employed at every occasion – e.g. even for reflections. Cf. also the author's, 'Versuch einer Charakterisierung der sogenannten Makedonischen Renaissance', in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les pays du nord et Byzance, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura*, N.S. 19 (Uppsala, 1981), pp. 237–42, at 238f.

[27]   R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Classical Background of the Scriptores post Theophanem', *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 8 (1954), pp. 11–30, especially at 17, perceived these phenomena as well but interpreted them differently. – Furthermore, what I present here are truisms in hagiography.

[28]   Cf. 'Interpolations' [pp. 84–103 in this volume].

[29]   That is: was the Byzantine renaissance a reaction to Western or Arab attempts to adopt classical education, or was the existence of these neighbours alone sufficient to incite the Byzantine renaissance? For this question every attempt to obtain proof is doomed to fail thanks to the meagre source material. What is interesting to see in this context is the common development or even mutual influence of the various Greek and Latin minuscules. See most recently G. Cavallo, 'Interazione tra scrittura Greca e scrittura Latina a Roma tra VII e IX secolo', *Misc. Codicologia F. Masai dicata* I (Gent, 1979), pp. 23–29.

they were not determined only by Antiquity but could move more freely. [275] For Byzantium, however, as it had obligingly adopted something of its own to take care of, the renaissance, which remained in principle valid throughout all these centuries, signified a constriction. This is particularly the case from the point of view of repression and holding firm for the sake of survival. And this restriction at last affected Byzantium and fossilised it from a cultural and literary point of view.

Supplement:

The Trier Ivory and other Uncertainties

After having said in the version of the lecture in the acts[30] that my thesis was so new that I had not had the chance yet to reflect on critical objections, one further review besides the one mentioned above[31] appeared, again in a renowned periodical.[32] Hence a supplement to the lecture seems to me the right place to add some further remarks.

This reviewer, too, does not agree with me and has many objections to raise; particularly that 'only few quite insufficient and general notes are added' to the essay. The publication (of a talk) in this form can only cause confusion.

In this respect I can only express my regrets and attempt to repair the damage, at least on two points.

1) 'Why was' (this is p. 177 of the essay 'Ikonoklasmus') 'the image of Christ, (which) disperses the enemy and protects the believers', the 'most import-ant aspect of the theme of iconoclasm'? – That we 'can grasp' iconoclasm with the insight of this new function of the image [276] is a thesis placed here rhetorically at the beginning, and it is explained in the paragraphs that

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[30] See 'Origins Byz. Ren.' above, n. *, p. 555f.
[31] See note 2 above.
[32] P. Schreiner, *Jahrb. Österr. Byz.* 36 (1986) pp. 351–53. In the meantime a third review has appeared, one by K.-P. Todt, Ἑλληνικά 36 (1985) pp. 397–404. Here it is not worth having even a polemical discussion any more. One can only weep.

immediately follow and later at several instances in the essay.[33] A note could at best have said: 'See the following paragraphs and below passim.' I shall take that to heart.

2) 'The re-dating of the Trier ivory to "after 711" (!) happens without a word of explanation.' – Indeed I wrote that it was Justinian II who had put up an image of Christ made of beaten bronze in the lunette of the Chalke ... . It was an image of the type that appears also on the emperor's coins, namely a bust of Christ with a cross behind the head. A consequence of this dating (the putting up of the image on the Chalke) is, I added, that the reign of Justinian II is a *terminus post quem* for among other things the Trier ivory. I thought I had treated the question sufficiently, since I had expressed my views elsewhere as well.[34] Here, too, I have had the chance to learn and thus I gratefully take the opportunity to explain the dating of the Trier ivory further.

The ivory displays in the upper left corner a building in whose lunette there is high up an image of Christ – a bust with a cross nimbus. The building is according to the majority of the interpreters the Chalke, and it cannot be any other because only the Chalke was ornamented with a representation of an image of Christ. And even if it was a different building, it would have to be imitating the Chalke, for only the Chalke is known in the eighth and ninth century to carry an image of Christ. That would therefore change nothing about dating the ivory.

[277] If one consequently does not want to assume that the building on the ivory in some form 'anticipates' the creation of the Chalke, the reign of Justinian II is, as already stated, the *terminus post quem* (in the best case *ad quem*) for the origin of the ivory. All earlier dates have to be excluded.

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[33]   The reviewer himself points out to me one further source relevant to this issue. See below.

[34]   *Konstantin VI.*, p. 608f. There, however, I still assume a dating prior to iconoclasm. The remark in the essay is also meant as a correction of that view. I would like to thank at this point Ms Christine Strube who, already many years ago in Munich at her postdoctoral lecture on the Trier ivory, defended the thesis that coins and other means of comparison do not compel the ivory to be dated to Late Antiquity but rather to the early Middle Ages. I thank her also at this point for the discussions that we had then about this problem. For a relict of that, see also *Konstantin VI.*, p. 609. – Furthermore, I would like to point out that the scarceness of notes in that essay is due to the fact that I do not refer to my earlier works, as I state myself in note 1.

This dating is independent of the event that is depicted on it, and it has to be so. For no matter what is depicted there, which form crowns or clothes have, which church is being initiated, etc., in all these aspects, the depiction provides a case of historical representation. Furthermore, an indisputably established event could also provide only a *terminus post quem*. However, since all proposed references are to an earlier period,[35] they carry no weight compared to the image of Christ on the Chalke.

Therefore only the following time spans are possible for the emergence of the ivory: 1) The time of Justinian II until the development of iconoclasm (more precisely: 726).[36] 2) The iconophile interval from 787–815. 3) The time after 843.

Since I believe that I can exclude the first and second possibility for general historical reasons,[37] only the third one remains. Here some further, more precise reflections are possible. It is known that the image of Christ on the Chalke, which was put up again in 843, was replaced by Romanos Lakapenos with a mosaic of Christ Chalkites.[38] That, however, does not yield an exact *terminus ante quem* since it can be assumed that it was still known 'later' what the Chalke looked like 'earlier'. Yet this memory [278] probably faded gradually. On the other hand, an origin around – roughly speaking – 900 does not exclude the depiction of an event which had taken place long before at the time of Justinian II, and that the Chalke with the image of Christ is thus an anachronism regarding the depicted event. For there are enough indications that it was assumed in the ninth century that the Chalke had 'always' looked as it did then. Leo III's offense in removing the image of Christ gains significance only through the fact that an 'original' state has been changed.[39]

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[35] All older and some newer attempts at interpretation are found in the latest essays on this problem: K.G. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St Stephen', *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* 33 (1979), pp. 113–33, and L.J. Wilson, 'The Trier Procession Ivory. A New Interpretation', *Byzantion* 54 (1984), pp. 602–14.

[36] On the assumption, of course, that the ivory was made in Byzantium. However, there is no indication to the contrary.

[37] The period of Justinian II and up to 726 is furthermore only possible if the translation depicted happened at the time. An anachronism, such as could be imputed safely (see below) in the 9th and 10th century, in the sense of the Chalke having always looked like that, is not possible for the time when the image of Christ had just been put up. For Leo III was against its renewal.

[38] *Konstantin VI.*, p. 618.

[39] Ibid., p. 611f. (*Patria* and *Script. incert. de Leone Bardae filio*).

Thus, however, the ivory is a work of the Byzantine renaissance, and more precisely, that of its 'Macedonian' epoch. Now one can approach it and attempt to further clarify the circumstances of its creation. Its preservation in the West could be taken as an argument that it was designed for the West in the first place.

And so far as the style is concerned: what does actually speak against dating the ivory to the ninth or tenth century? Or, more to the point: what stylistic elements, if the ivory was dated to the tenth century through an inscription for example, could lead an art historian to date it to Late Antiquity and declare the inscription a forgery? None! Quite the contrary; among the pieces of ivory that belong more or less certainly to the 'Macedonian' era, stylistically related pieces can be found without any major difficulty.

As things are going smoothly now and the same review treats another essay in the same volume[40] with critical suspiciousness, and as that essay has also to do with iconoclasm, I take the opportunity here to comment on some of the objections and to attempt to correct the impression that I was engaged in source-ideology rather than source-critique.

The reviewer hesitates to accept my re-dating the fragment of Hypatios of Ephesos to the eighth century. His most important objections are the following:

What is at issue here is sculpture in the round and relief (p. 221 [pp. 58–59 here]). An argument about sculpture in the round was already inconceivable in the sixth century, and even more so in the eighth. Hence the emendation ἐκ [279] ξύλου δὲ καί λίθου (instead of ἐπί of the manuscript), tells also against my later dating. Now, this emendation says only that the text that was transmitted is not correct. Finally, the issue at stake is only sculpture in the round and relief insofar as Julian declares the Church is not consistent. For it rejects sculpture in the round on the one hand (that is: the Hellenes' statues of the gods), while on the other it does tolerate sculpture with depictions (meaning reliefs on for example altar rails or ciboria). In this Julian refers to the furnishing of churches in his time. However, this cannot be used for dating purposes since both in the sixth as well as in the eighth century relief sculpture was used in church furnishings.

I have the impression that the reviewer has not understood Julian's very sophisticated argumentation. I do not wish to be repetitive here but can only ask him to re-read attentively particularly pages 224f. [here p. 60f.]. He will see

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[40] 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Η ΓΛΥΦΑΙΣ. Zu dem Fragment des Hypatios von Ephesos über die Bilder', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (1984) [pp. 50–83 in this volume].

that my interpretation is correct but that it cannot be used for the purpose of dating (which I, by the way, do not do).

'The mention of silk fabric (with pictorial illustrations) by Hypatios (p. 235 [here p. 71]) is an argument according to S. (=me) against the sixth century. However, Theophylaktos Simokates explicitly mentions, in the context of a battle against the Persians (585), an image that "the hand of the weaver has produced" (II, 3).'

The following has to be said about this: Hypatios (I) of Ephesos belongs certainly to the first half of Justinian I's reign. If the existence of an image (on its protective function: see details below) towards the end of the century is verified, this does not mean that Hypatios has known such images but only that something has changed in the attitude towards these images at the end of the sixth century.

However, this has nothing to do with my argumentation about the dating. Besides trimmings of gold, silver and gems, Hypatios mentions σειρική ἐσθής which can lead to the displaying of the divine, although it belongs to the decorations made out of fabric (κόσμος ὑλικός). This is in all probability a reference to altar cloths,[41] which were possibly illustrated with images.[42] However, the debate is not about how old [280] such possibly illustrated altar cloths were,[43] but rather only about the material. The way Hypatios speaks, the silk seems to be something very luxurious yet something already in use in churches. Only the fact that it is in use makes the dating in the eighth century more probable than in the sixth (at least its first half), as the production of silk in Byzantium was then only in its infancy.

Hypatios does not say that the silk fabric was illustrated with images, and within the framework of his argument it is not necessary. However, I assume it was, because the luxurious altar items, which were made out of the materials mentioned (chalices, patens, etc.), were removed from the church in the eighth century by Constantine V, because as they bore images they could have attracted proskynesis to these images at the altar during the liturgy.[44] Yet if the

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[41]   Vestments of priests are also possible.

[42]   This is, however, not a necessary assumption; see below. Here my argument in that essay (p. 235 [here p. 71]) is not very fine so that a reviewer could have picked up on that.

[43]   For the question of depictions on altar cloths, cf. my article, 'Die Ἐνδυτή. Literarische Quellen zur Bekleidung des Altars in der byzantinischen Kirche', *Jahrb. Österr. Byz. Gesellschaft* 15 (1966), p. 346f. and passim.

[44]   I first developed the theory that images 'at the front' of the church were affected by

text of Hypatios presupposes pictorial silk cloth, one is even more inclined to conclude it was the eighth century, because then one can exclude imported fabric as well, which would have been possible for non-pictorial cloth.

This statement remains valid even if the image mentioned by Theophylaktos was made of silk since then one would have to contend with the changed attitude towards images at the end of the century. Furthermore, in Theophylaktos the issue is about a cult image and not about a fabric which in a fundamentally different function (that is, as altar cloth) was also ornamented with images and thus could be part of the proskynesis during the liturgy just like illustrated cult images or doors and ciboria.

However, it cannot be claimed that the image in Theophylaktos was made of silk. The following is said (II, 3, 4–6):

Φιλιππικὸς τὸ θεανδρικὸν ἐπεφέρετο εἴκασμα, ὃ λόγος ἔκαθεν καὶ εἰς τὰ νῦν διηχεῖ θείαν ἐπιστήμην μορφῶσαι, οὐχ ὑφάντου χεῖρας τεκτήνασθαι ἢ ζωγράφου μηλιάδα ποικῖλαι. διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἀχειροποίητος παρὰ [281] Ῥωμαίοις καθυμνεῖται καὶ τῶν ἰσοθέων πρεσβειῶν ἠξίωται· ἀρχέτυπον γὰρ ἐκείνου θρησκεύουσι Ῥωμαῖοί τι ἄρρητον. ταύτην ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν σεβασμίων περιπέπλων γυμνώσας τὰς τάξεις ὑπέτρεχεν, κρείττονος καὶ ἀνανταγωνίστου θράσους ἐντεῦθεν μεταδιδοὺς τῷ στρατεύματι.

In translation: Philippikos carried the image of the godlike human with him, which, as has been said unanimously from the beginning[45] until today, has formed a divine art.[46] However, neither the hands of a weaver have manufactured it, nor has the Melian grey earth[47] of a painter created it with colours. Because of that, the image is

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removal for this reason in interpreting John of Damascus, cf. my essay 'Anthologia Palatina I.1 und das Apsismosaik der Hagia Sophia', *Varia* II, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 287–90.

[45]   The reviewer recently published in the *Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, vol. 20, a translation with commentary from Theophylaktos Simokates' history, Stuttgart, 1985. He translates our paragraph, p. 65, as 'then already and today'. Yet ἔκαθεν does not mean that, and with the *acheiropoieta* it is important that they exist from the very beginning, that is, since the time of Christ.

[46]   Ὅ is the object and θείαν ἐπιστήμην the subject. The reviewer translates '…, that it depicted the divine form (ἐπιστήμην!)'.

[47]   On μηλιάς, which in no way is a hapax, a look at Liddell-Scott-Jones brings clarity. It refers to a kind of earth containing aluminium, which painters added to their paints to improve durability. The reviewer (with a justification in note 210) guesses 'paintbrush'. De Boor (index s.v.) was closer to the truth in this matter with a reference to μηλίς and the meaning 'coloris genus.'

praised among Romans 'as one not painted by human hands' and regarded as worthy of godlike honours. For the Romans venerate its archetype as something that cannot be spoken.[48] The commander took this from its honoured cover[49] and paraded along the rows with it. By this he gave greater and insuperable courage to the army.

With this passage Theophylaktos gives as much enlightenment as one could wish. Therefore it is impossible, but also unimportant, [282] to ascertain whether the event took place exactly like that. Theophylaktos, writing under Herakleios, reflects in any case the thinking of his time. However, Herakleios already generally took images with him on all his undertakings. He therefore did not introduce this form of veneration but rather did much to promote it. This passage of Theophylaktos seems to me part of this propaganda. The fact that this image is venerated in the same way as God Himself[50] and that it gives courage to the soldiers is typical for the early cult of images, which becomes more and more established in the course of the seventh century. In this sense, this passage is literally a piece of evidence for the central problems of iconoclasm as discussed above.

The question as to which image this was is a more difficult one. Theophylaktos only offers that it is a depiction of Christ and that the image is on fabric. Then, rhetoric assumes its right: since the image is made by God, it can neither have been manufactured by a weaver or a painter, or (as Theophylaktos thinks without putting it in words) even if one came very close to it, one could not distinguish whether the image is woven into the fabric or painted on it. Both options are excluded, and it is not recognizable by human beings which technique God employed for his *acheiropoieta*. The only thing that is established with certainty is that the image is on fabric and that it

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[48]   In the previously mentioned translation, it reads: The Rhomaioi worship it as a mysterious image of Christ. However, 'ἀρχέτυπον ἐκείνου' does not mean that, but that the Romans worship what is depicted on the image, which is the archetype, as something divine. That means they worship Christ as God. Theophylaktos pretends to be uninvolved. That is demanded by rhetoric.

[49]   In note 212 of the translation mentioned περίπεπλον is treated as equivalent to ποδέα. *Podea* is, however, always a curtain in front of an icon, which is either fixed to or painted on the wall. It is precisely also the word περίπεπλον that makes me think that the present image, which was certainly on fabric, was not stretched over a frame but rather was rolled up.

[50]   It cannot be excluded that the connotation associated with the word πρεσβεῖαι could already have been 'intercessory prayers', and that it was hence possible to appeal to the image.

probably was not stretched out (on a wedged frame) but rolled up. Which of the
acheiropoieta of the early seventh century fulfills this condition, I cannot say
without further investigation. Every attempt at supposition, however, does not
prove helpful.

It is certain, though, that Theophylaktos does not mention a particular kind
of fabric and so it would be arbitrary to assume silk.[51] However, even in that
case, [283] it would not be an argument against dating the Hypatios fragment
into the eighth century.

It is certainly not nice to say that while I read the review I thought of glass-
houses and stones;[52] and still cannot suppress one last remark: it is certainly the
right of a reviewer not to like the style of a work, indeed to consider it even bad
or wrong. However, to defame a whole institution, while criticizing the style of
one person, is impertinent ('... the stylistic form of the contributions of S.,
which is even below the standards of what is usual at the Freie Universität
and well known to the reviewer'). I could argue with as much right about
the influence of the Cologne Carnival Speeches on works by professors at the
Albertus-Magnus-Universität.

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[51]   The earlier *acheiropoieta* are preferably on canvas, which is consistent with the
stories of their origins, cf. e.g. E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Icono-
clasm', *Dum. Oaks Pap.* 8 (1954), pp. 83–150, at 113f. The reviewer, too, thinks of canvas
and refers to Kitzinger in note 211. – There seems to have been a painting technique on
canvas; cf. the expression λινή ζωγραφία in the *Diataxis* by Michael Attaleiates, see The
Ἐνδυτή, p. 349 for source 49.

[52]   The inaccuracy of translation is not coincidental in the passage treated here. In an
interpretation of the dialogue before Theophylaktos' *Historia*, which I published in 'A More
Charitable Verdict', *Klio* 68 (1986), pp. 619–63, I wanted to incorporate a translation, but
due to the fact that the essay was already made up for publication, it was no longer possible. I
regret this since I could have drawn upon some points profitably for my interpretation. The
translation offers also in the dialogue some (colloquially speaking) howlers of which I
would like to name one: 15; 22.10, a λύρα is played with the πλῆκτρον μουσικώτατον.
In English: with the best sounding hammer. Since the lyre was not a piano-like keyboard
instrument, however, it probably suffered considerably when played in this way.

Interpretation of the *Bellum Avaricum* and the Tomcat Μεχλεμπέ

(in Three Parts)

Die Interpretation des *Bellum Avaricum* und der Kater Μεχλεμπέ

[373] John Tzetzes had a sense of humour. He wrote a long commentary, the *Chiliads*, on the letters he used in class so that everyone knew exactly what he was referring to. Then he wrote *scholia* to the *Chiliads*, to make everything crystal clear. Tzetzes also knew that a good commentary must take up much more space than the text being commented on.

My research on some parts of the *Bellum Avaricum* of George of Pisidia[1] now fulfils these requirements of length as they amount to 162 pages including indexes. But length alone apparently is not enough. J.L. van Dieten has 'challenged' the results of this research 'extensively',[2] but thankfully in only 30 pages.

I must say that van Dieten is of course right about some passages[3] and that he

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[1] P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monachensia 24 (Munich, 1980).

[2] J.L. van Dieten, 'Zum "Bellum Avaricum" des Georgios Pisides. Bemerkungen zu einer Studie von Paul Speck', *Byz. Forsch.* 9 (1985), pp. 149–78.

[3] Including the following: *Zufälliges*, p. 154f., interpretation of Georg. Pis. *Herac.* 2.90–97; p. 158, where the notices in the *Chron. Pasch.* 725.6–726.10 refer to the year 626, though there is also the issue of individual notes added later, and one note may be an exception (see below); p. 176, *Anth. Palat.* 1.120 also belongs to 626; p. 164f, *Bell. Avar.* 273 (προσαντιβάλλειν καὶ πλέκειν τεῖχος νέον) means additional palisades, and undoubtedly in front of the single(!) Blachernai walls, as in the *Script. incert. de Leone Bardae filio* (according to Leo Gramm.) 348.3–5 suggests: ... συναθροίσας λαὸν πολὺν καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ ἤρξατο κτίζειν ἕτερον τεῖχος ἔξωθεν ⟨τοῦ⟩ τείχους Βλαχερνῶν (independently of that, a long enough stretch of the walls of Herakleios was finished in 626 so that the Avars could not storm through to the Blachernai church, but this is a different matter; see also below); p. 169f., to an extent on the interpretation of the list of Bonos, Nikeph. 18.6–21 (but the Pteron was southeast of the Blachernai church).

is wrong about others and that he has even misunderstood many just as
naturally, so that he has argued against opinions which I do not hold. If I wanted
to start with this last, most complicated category to put things right, my
reply would expand to Tzetzes' extent and Karl Krumbacher ought to be
remembered.[4] [374] In the following I would like to state my opinion on three
questions where I cannot agree with van Dieten, but where his opinions made
me pursue the questions further so that I have to give him credit for deepening
my research.

I have three complex issues in mind:

1. The Protest of Patriarch Sergios against the Marriage of Herakleios with
   Martina.
2. The Mission of Patrikios Athanasios to the Khagan of the Avars.
3. *Bellum Avaricum*, verses 457–61.

1. The Protest of Patriarch Sergios against the Marriage of Herakleios with Martina

The information Nikephoros transmits, that Patriarch Sergios wrote letters
protesting against the planned wedding of Herakleios with his niece Martina,
although he got vehemently reprimanded[5] for it, is, I take it, a later vindication
by the Church.[6] Van Dieten does not believe me and explains,[7] 'The marriage
was not canonical and it was the duty (! my exclamation marks) of the patriarch
to inform the emperor. Why should Sergios not also have done what other
patriarchs dared (!) to do, after all? He was not a weak (!) patriarch.'

Morgenstern's Palmström already tended towards such pointed conclusions,
but alas, history does not allow them. Or does it? The argument runs along
these lines: the deportation and annihilation of the Jews scorned divine and
human law and it was the duty of the pope to point this out. Why should the

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[4]   One might question Krumbacher's judgement of Tzetzes in his *Geschichte der
byzantinischen Literatur* (2nd ed., Munich, 1987), p. 527, 'his self-promotion, to which he
amalgamates with the crudest polemics'. In contrast to Tzetzes, Krumbacher has no sense of
humour and so could scarcely enjoy this verse (*Chil.* 8. 518 ed. Leone), καὶ νόει ὀξύτατον
τῆς Τζέτζου διανοίας! But readers are inclined to, I hope.

[5]   14.24–15.2.

[6]   *Zufälliges*, p. 83f.

[7]   'Bemerkungen', p. 158.

'deputy', not a weak pope, not have done what some members of his Church dared to do? So he protested. Or did he?

Be that as it may, Sergios' protest turns out to be so complicated and involving so many other issues that I cannot confine my investigation to a part of this essay. It [375] has grown into a detailed study, not only on the first part of the *Breviarium* of Nikephoros but also about the parts of Theophanes dealing with the reign of Herakleios. It bears the title, *'Das geteilte Dossier'*.[8] Here readers will find everything that I have to say about the protest of Sergios.

2. The Mission of Patrikios Athanasios to the Khagan of the Avars

Regarding the much-discussed question of whether the relief force that Herakleios sent to the besieged city of Constantinople arrived before the investment of the city, or only reached it afterwards, thus leading the Avars to make an over-hasty attack, van Dieten accepts the story that a vanguard, at least, arrived before the investment and explains that the 12,000 cavalry mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale*[9] partly belonged to this vanguard. They would have been shown to the *patrikios* Athanasios, who wanted to go to the khagan again to demand a harsher policy (meaning that they arrived between the first and second missions of Athanasios. Had there been other troops in Constantinople, troops who arrived even earlier, he would have known about them). 'Athanasios was not in fact captured by the Avars in Adrianople and then used by them as an emissary, but according to *C.P.* 718.15 was sent as an emissary from there (ἀπέλυσεν 718.5 does not mean "released" but "dispatched", *"dimisit"*. The reference back to Athanasios' mission in this passage probably is due to the unstructured use of sources by the compiler of the *Chronicon Paschale*).'[10]

As always, only a detailed analysis of the text can help. To begin at the end: the *Chronicon Paschale* does not 'use' sources but quotes them verbatim with the relevant dates, just as Synkellos and Theophanes probably later do in borrowing from the *Chronicon*.[11] Even the report about the Avar [376] siege is

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[8]   Appearing very soon in the series Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά.

[9]   718.20f.

[10]   'Bemerkungen', p. 174.

[11]   Cf. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 2 (Bonn, 1981), pp. 79f. and 91, and passim; Speck, 'Ikonoklasmus und

such a document, inserted word for word by the editor of the *Chronicon*; to be precise, a letter that 'the city' – meaning Bonos, the *archontes* and also Sergios[12] – wrote to Herakleios after the siege was fortunately fought off. This view, briefly expressed by me in *Zufälliges*, is rejected by van Dieten, with two arguments.[13] Firstly, one would have to expect correct protocol in the description given at *Chronicon Paschale* 721.5f. This passage says that on 2 August ἐζήτησεν ἄρχοντας ὁ Χαγάνος ὀφείλοντας αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. If a violation of protocol occurs here, it has to be the khagan's doing. Yet this is not so. The khagan can only ask for authorised delegates. He did that and the letter repeats this request with its usual stylistic traits. The delegates, who are named in the next sentence (721.6–10), are all introduced with their respective titles, just as protocol requires in the presence of the emperor. The reader can fully appreciate the contemporary chancery jargon in this passage if he takes the trouble to compare the style and presentation of the text in question with an undoubtedly genuine letter in the *Chronicon Paschale*, the letter of Herakleios to the city (727.15–734.14).

Van Dieten thinks it surprising that the report on the siege does not mention patriarch Sergios, especially if he was the author or co-author of this letter. And it would be surprising if it were true.[14] In fact, Sergios undertook two specific projects worth noting in such a report: he placed images of Mary on the city gates[15] and undertook a ceremonial procession with an image of Christ on top of the walls.[16] In both cases it cannot be excluded that they were mentioned in the letter.[17] In any case [377] we do not to have invent an 'antimonothelite' editor who deleted allusions to Sergios.[18]

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die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance', *Varia* I=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 4 (1985), p. 204f.

[12]   The actual signatory is unknown. For the reasons, see below.

[13]   'Bemerkungen', p. 153f.

[14]   *Zufälliges*, p. 63 n. 4 explains that in the letter fundamentally religious matters had been omitted. Not so.

[15]   *Zufälliges*, p. 64 n. 4.

[16]   *Zufälliges*, p. 27f., where 29 June is erroneously mentioned instead of 29 July.

[17]   The text has several lacunae, as will also be noted.

[18]   Kyra Ericsson, 'Revising a Date in the *Chronicon Paschale*', *Jahrb. Österr. Byz. Gesellschaft* 17 (1968), pp. 17–28, at 18, holds this orthodox editor also responsible for the lacuna between 610.8–9. Ericsson says that this editor removed the 'heretical' years of Anastasius I down to the time when Justin I's reign began. Yet the lacuna lies within the reign of Anastasius. He is the one whose *mors persecutoris* is recounted (610.10–611.10).

To pass beyond speculation about this question, we need first of all briefly
to sketch all recent attempts to explain the textual history of the *Chronicon
Paschale*, not only because they are invariably relevant to the letter to be
analysed here, but because in fact they quite clearly reveal the problems of
transmission.

G. Mercati has already established that there are lacunae in the text of
Chronicon Paschale, which came about in two ways. First there are those that
occurred in the manuscript that exists today and that is basically available to us
in its entirety, the Vaticanus gr. 1491. They include the big lacuna in our letter
(724.9: πρὸς τοὺς ./. ἐπόντισαν)[19] that covers the period from Monday, 4
August to Friday, 8 August, one that surely arose because of the loss of pages
from the manuscript.[20] But other lacunae had already occurred in the (direct
or indirect) prototype of the Vaticanus, likewise through loss of pages, and
Mercati believes he can estimate the extent of these from parallel sources:
approximately 29 lines in Migne, equalling approximately 24 lines in the Bonn
edition.[21]

The argument of N.H. Baynes is briefly this: the so-called 'treachery' of the
Avars which the *Chronicon Paschale* reports for the year 623 (712.12–713.14)
surely did not take place in that year, since the second expedition of Herakleios
occurred in this year and the *Chronicon* places it in the year 624. In fact the
'treachery' belongs in 617. If in fact we look up the events of the year 618,
[378] they take up 24 lines of the Bonn edition, the same as the 'treachery'
incident. So two pages of the prototype of the Vatican manuscript may have
been exchanged.

By assuming mixed up pages and by using a hypothetical line count, Baynes
reaches the year 617. Even if this is not without problems, Baynes's dating
stands firm: the 'treachery' took place on a Sunday, 5 June.[22] Not only does the
head-note in the *Chronicon Paschale* say so (yes, this could have been altered
and wrongly adapted), but also the synaxaria confirm it and the notice in the

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But this is meaningless without the preceding 'heresy' tale. This lacuna thus arose for
physical reasons, too.

[19]   See also V. Vasilevskii, 'Avary a ne Ruskie, Feodor a ne Georgii', *Viz. Vrem.* 3 (1896)
pp. 83–95, at 91 n. 1.

[20]   G. Mercati, 'A Study of the Paschal Chronicle', *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* 7 (1906),
pp. 397–412 (=*Opere Minori* II=Studi e Testi 77 [Vatican, 1937], pp. 462–79]), at p. 409.

[21]   Mercati, pp. 403 and 411.

[22]   See p. 210f. below.

text of the *Chronicon* also says so.[23] And since the year 623 is out of the question – Herakleios had long been in Persia – only 5 June 617 remains as a possible date for the 'treachery' of the Avars, a date that also causes no problems with regard to the historical context.[24]

Kyra Ericsson, too, assumes exchanged pages. She also tries to explain how the pages came loose: the orthodox editor simply tore out heretical sections and in the process other pages from the volume were loosened and were mixed up. This assumption is not necessary.[25]

But her other conclusions should not be rejected: first, the events surrounding John ὁ ἐπίκλην Σεισμός (715.9–716.8), narrated as occurring in the year 626, have nothing to do with this year. Second, the thanks given to Mary in the first lines (716.9–16) of the concluding report on the siege differ in style from the rest and are possibly a later addition. But the real report that follows, starting with the word γάρ (ὁ γάρ ἐπικατάρατος Σαλβάρας ...), suggests that something before that has been omitted. So here the number of lines is 21 plus the text of the lacuna.

[379] The events reported by the *Chronicon* for the year 615 (705.18–706.8, a liturgical innovation,[26] and 706.9–11, the introduction of the hexagrammon[27]), however, belong in the year 626. In addition to that, a lacuna separates the beginning of the history of the talks with Sain (706.11: καί

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[23] 5 June: *SEC* 729.30–731.5; J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* (Rome, 1962), 1, p. 307f.; A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei* (Kiev, 1895), I, p. 78f. Sunday: *Chron. Pasch.* 712.21 and 713.5f.

[24] Van Dieten, 'Bermerkungen', p. 155, dismisses the possibility of 623 with a reference to A. Stratos, Τὸ Βυζάντιον στόν Ζ' αἰώνα (Athens, 1965) [English translation: *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, trans. M. Ogilvie-Grant (Amsterdam, 1968)], vol A', pp. 361–75. But this is only because Stratos assigns the second campaign of Herakleios against the Persians to 624, after an initial campaign in the winter of 622/23. Yet this is unacceptable for many reasons, especially since there was in fact only one expedition by Herakleios, early in 623. See *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn, 1988).

[25] See n. 18 above and *passim* below. All the lacunae are explicable by technical causes.

[26] But the victory of Theodore over Sain can scarcely have been the cause. The change began on the first Sunday of Lent in 626, therefore on 9 March. Even if one assumes a swift courier, the battle must have taken place about 1 March and that would be too early in the year.

[27] This is undoubtedly correct. P. Yannopoulos, *L'Hexagramme. Un monnayage byzantin en argent du VIIe siècle* (Louvain, 1978), pp. 2–5, rejects the dating but has not really understood the point.

ἔξαρχος ... down to 13: ... εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἐβλέπετο) from the text following (13f.: καὶ λαβὼν δῶρα ...). We may suppose that the beginning also belonged into the year 626 and the wrong name, Σαήν, was put there instead of the original Σαλβάρας only after the mix-up had taken place. Here 17 lines plus the text of the lacuna would therefore be affected by it. Only the indication in 705.19 needs to be changed, from δ' to ιδ'. 14 May, the date given for Whitsunday in 626 (9f.), is also correct for 615.[28] This date could have led to the wrong reordering.[29]

While Mercati and Baynes assume that easily readable pages were lost or exchanged, Ericsson appears to assume that the pages were partly illegible or mutilated, even if she does not say so explicitly.

Another piece of evidence may indicate the significance of 24 as the number of lines. The individual notes (725.6–726.10) already mentioned[30] also make exactly 24 lines, leading to the conclusion that someone tried to make up for the loss of the page by collecting scattered bits of reports and inserting them on a sheet of similar size.

But this assumption has an important disadvantage. I do not mean that errors like the mistaken date for the 'treachery' incident can be explained just as well without assuming exchanged sheets of the manuscript.[31] But I am thinking [380] of the following: sheets with 24 lines (or pages with 12 lines) would mean that the *Chronicon Paschale* (737 pages with at least 20 lines a page in the Bonn edition) must have filled at least 1,230 sides or 615 fairly small sheets. In my opinion several factors speak against such an assumption.

Add that in the following presentation more lacunae, especially in the city's letter to Herakleios, emerge. Loss of or mixed-up pages can hardly explain them, and so I would therefore like to put forward the following hypothesis.

The original of the *Chronicon Paschale* or a contemporary copy similar to the original, and in any case a manuscript in uncials,[32] survived in a catastrophic condition that affected the end of the manuscript in particular.[33] At

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[28]   Add that in both years 14 May is of course a Sunday. At 715.10 ἡμέρᾳ δ' should accordingly be changed to α' (Α' misread for Δ').

[29]   Ericsson, *passim*.

[30]   See n. 3 above.

[31]   See p. 225f.

[32]   See proof for this at n. 28 above.

[33]   This assumption of a barely readable prototype for medieval copies may appear to be developing into a hobbyhorse of mine. But I cannot find a better hypothesis to explain all the phenomena.

the end of the Dark Ages it came into the hands of an interested person who not only copied the prototype as far as he could read it, but also took the trouble of doing philological and historical research to put the end of the text back in order.[34] That is why he apparently exchanged chapters, perhaps those that were only partly legible. He did not notice the other lacunae but copied straight on. It is no wonder that all his head notes are free of mistakes: even if they were illegible, he could figure them out. The work of the editor, as I will call him from now on, need not be particularly well done; on the contrary, it explains the condition of the text available today, with all its peculiarities.[35] The *Vaticanus* is a direct or indirect copy of this attempt to restore the text.

[381] After these rather general remarks, I would like to make a remark about the views of Ericsson. Which brings me back to my essential theme, the report on the siege and with it the letter of the city to Herakleios.

Unlike Ericsson I see no lacuna at 706.13 (...εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἐβλέπετο ./. καὶ λαβὼν δῶρα ...) The slightly compressed text serves only as an introduction to the letter of the *archontes* to Chosroes (707.1–709.23). But the beginning of the note is out of order (706.11): καὶ ἔξαρχος τοῦ Πέρσου is not Greek. At the very least one would expect ὁ (e.g. στρατηγὸς) καὶ ἔξαρχος[36] ... and before it surely τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει (*vel* ἐνιαυτῷ), which is how all separate notes in the *Chronicon* begin. Yet the lacuna may actually be a bit bigger. There is still no reason to move lines 706.11–13 and assign them to the year 626.

As Ericsson rightly says, the actual report about the siege, and so the letter, begins quite strangely (716.17): ὁ γὰρ ἐπικατάρατος Σαλβάρας ... Before this something else must have happened.

The text now immediately preceding (709.9–16) looks like the later insertion of a thanksgiving to Mary who, it was generally believed, had saved the city in 626.[37] But it appears possible to me that the original letter already began with an address to Mary and that the editor of the text perhaps fell back

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[34] See my 'Das geteilte Dossier' on the question whether Synkellos knew the *Chronicon Paschale* when it was in this condition.

[35] The greatest peculiarity is the absence of much information that one would have expected, such as about the wedding and coronation of Martina (see 'Das geteilte Dossier'). It should have been said as a matter of course that Martina's status as 'Augusta' and 'Basilissa' was not erased, see even *De Cerim.* 2.29 and 629.16–630.11.

[36] Even τοῦ Πέρσου is not Greek. At 716.17 Sharbaraz is called ἔξαρχος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στατοῦ, which should be restored here too.

[37] So Ericsson and I myself in *Zufälliges*, p. 127 n. 267, yet my own conclusion should have warned me.

upon the original. In fact, Mary is mentioned again in the letter (724.18–20, the end of the sea-battle in the Golden Horn): καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ ἡ διὰ θαλάσσης γέγονεν αὐτῷ πτῶσις. Thus one can conclude that the role for Mary in the sea battle, on the heights of the Blachernai church, which was emphasised by Theodore Synkellos and George of Pisidia, was also depicted as important in the letter, and that consequently an appropriate invocation and thanksgiving at the start of the letter is possible. A theologically orientated introduction is in any case appropriate for a letter.[38]

[382] But even if this introduction was supposed to be based on the remains of the original letter – assuming the remains were still readable – in the form that we have today, it is the work of the editor. The beginning (716.9: Καλὸν δὲ διηγήσασθαι ὅπως καὶ νῦν ...) does not actually fit a letter and surely was not the beginning of this one. Instead it reveals that the editor had not realized that he was in fact dealing with a letter.

What is still missing is an introduction such as other letters have.[39] Also missing from our letter is an appropriate conclusion, as found in other letters.[40] Here, too, the letter has been mutilated and the editor (or others) have used individual notices as filler. One would have to know from where he got those.[41]

Yet if we make allowances for these details, the letter is no different from the letter of Herakleios to the city or even from other letters from him that have been preserved in other contexts and give uninterrupted reports about events unfolding over a longer period of time.[42] In particular the language used by Herakleios' chancery, with echoes of popular speech, is also characteristic of the letter.

Finally, the letter can even be dated approximately. It must have been written right after the siege, which was raised on 8 August and in 717.2, the subject is

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[38]   Cf. the introductions of both the letters originally preserved in the *Chron. Pasch*, 707.1–5 (the letter of the *archontes* to Chosroes) and 727.15–728.4 (the letter of Herakleios to the city of Constantinople). Here the subjects are only God and Christ. Mary appears to be something peculiar to Constantinople and indeed she became so first through the naval victory by the heights of the Blachernai church. In the procession on the walls Christ was still the focus, manifest in his image. This interpretation of the role of Mary must have followed directly after the siege, since the surviving letter in fact dates right from August 626.

[39]   706.20–22 and 727.10–14.

[40]   709.19–23, 734.9–12 with the postscript 13–17.

[41]   For these notices, see further below.

[42]   For such letters, see also 'Das geteilte Dossier'.

τῆς παρούσης ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος. The letter thus was composed just before 1 September. And that is hardly a surprise.

[383] But if we are dealing with a letter, we can expect a certain accuracy and surer information. Certainly the explanation of obscurities by 'careless use of sources' are out of the question. Where such cases seem to arise, another explanation is needed.

This applies above all to the beginning of the letter, namely to the mission of the *patrikios* Athanasios. The account going from 716.17 to 718.4, the beginning of the preserved text, is logical in itself and structured: Sharbaraz was waiting for the arrival of the Avars; he reached Chalcedon days early and set fire to hamlets, palaces, and temples. On 29 June a vanguard of the Avars arrived, about 30,000 strong, and proclaimed[43] that they would take the long walls and the country behind them. Thereupon the Roman cavalry positioned outside the city[44] retreated behind the Theodosian walls. The vanguard remained in the area of Melantias and only a few advanced as far as the walls and they let no one out of town. But subsequently,[45] when almost ten days had passed and no enemy had appeared in the vicinity of the city, soldiers with servants and citizens from the city went to forage for about ten miles outside. They encountered the enemy, some Romans fell, and others were captured. But if the soldiers had not been protecting the servants and citizens, they could have killed a sizable number of the enemy on that day. A short time later some of the enemy, about 1,000, advanced as far as Sykai and showed themselves to the Persians, who for their part had gathered on the heights of Chrysoupolis. Both made their presence known with torches. – That is the text as far as 718.4.

[384] First on the facts: the torches probably mean that the Persians and the Avars had agreed beforehand to recognize one another by torches or even that such torches were used quite naturally since people could not be sure about how far away they were. There were certainly no recognizable uniforms and field insignia could be faked. But with torches – especially if one torched

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[43]   717.5f: διὰ δηλωμάτων φημίσαντος. But delivered how? By heralds?

[44]   My opinion, misunderstood by van Dieten, 'Bemerkungen', p. 174, is that the subject is troops then permanently stationed behind the Long Walls, in effect, the part of the Balkan army that Herakleios had not taken over to Asia Minor and that later emerges as the 'Thema of Constantinople' during the campaign against the Arabs. There were no other Byzantine troops in the Balkans.

[45]   Ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ (713.13) evidently must mean this (something like the colloquial 'meantime'), but the logic here requires the meaning 'subsequently'. This is important for the interpretation of the next ἐν τῷ μέσῳ. See the following notes.

enemy possessions – one could be sure whether an ally was on the other side. Even if one has agreed on torches beforehand.

But in linguistic terms the conclusion of the text is out of order (717.22–718.6):

Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δέ τινων ἐχθρῶν ἄχρι μιᾶς χιλιάδος ἐλθόντων ... καὶ ἐμφανισάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Πέρσαις κἀκείνων συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ γνωρισάντων ἀλλήλοις διὰ πυρκαϊᾶς τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρουσίαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπέλυσεν ὁ ἐπικατάρατος Χαγάνος 'Αθανάσιον τὸν ἐνδοξότατον πατρίκιον ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν 'Αδριανουπόλεως εἰρηκὼς αὐτῷ ...

It makes no difference whether ἐν τῷ μέσῳ means 'in the meantime' or 'subsequently',[46] since in neither case is it suitable as the introduction to a main clause following a genitive absolute, not even in this relatively vulgar style of speech. It can of course introduce a genitive absolute,[47] but here it certainly points to a lacuna: as the two sides recognized one another through torches ... (so and so happened). Next[48] the khagan sends Athanasios ... It is therefore indisputable that there is a lacuna in the text.

We can demonstrate this lacuna indirectly as well. When referring to the sequence of events, the letter is in general very precise. Yet between 29 June (recounted at 717.1f.) and 29 July (719.5), only ten days are mentioned (717.13). Only a lacuna can explain this.

We may go still further. The message of the khagan to Athanasios is (718.6–8): inquire how the authorities in the city honour me, and what they are willing to pay me to withdraw. This [385] sentence is clear: the khagan does not necessarily want (or pretends this at least) to conquer Constantinople. He in fact does not dictate surrender terms but awaits a proposal from the city. He is even willing to negotiate it and if needs be to withdraw.[49] Yet when Athanasios gets to Constantinople and reports this, they are all angry with him on account of his submission to the khagan and giving him the wrong idea that the city would yield to his pressure. This information could be compatible with the previous news if one assumes that Athanasios had raised the khagan's hopes

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[46] See the preceding note.

[47] See n. 45 as well.

[48] Here again the meaning 'subsequently' applies. The meaning 'in the meantime' would require a tense indicating prior time and thus the pluperfect.

[49] It does not matter whether this behaviour by the khagan fits in with his agreement with the Persians, or whether he is making a mock offer.

that the city would soon yield to his pressure, although strictly speaking the khagan has exerted no pressure. But in the end the answer of Athanasios is contradictory (717.14f.): this is exactly what was said to him by the *archontes* when he was sent on the mission.

The following is clear: Athanasios has submitted an offer, the khagan has agreed to it, either in earnest or in pretense; but when Athanasios reported back to the city, people charged him with being too lenient in the negotiations, whereas Athanasios insisted that that was his mission. This sentence is doubtless correct (the reason for the reproach of Athanasios is that he had some freedom to negotiate), but it is in no way consistent with the fact that when Athanasios came from Adrianople he was only supposed to inquire whether people in Constantinople wanted to make an offer to the khagan. That whole idea only makes sense if we assume that Athanasios came to Constantinople on a mission from the khagan, learned there of the offer to be negotiated, and accordingly negotiated. He was then sent back to Constantinople and the reported differences between him and the *archontes* arose.

But this means that here, too, the text is out of sequence. A lacuna could have most simply have been introduced at 718.8 ὑποστρέψω ./. εἰσελθόντος. In any case, the ταῦτα of this sentence (718.9) can no longer refer to what precedes it.[50]

[386] So here we have two fragments of consecutive missions. Now we must ask whether they occupied this place in the text originally (and thus came together only through lacunae) or whether they ended up here as fragments just because the editor perhaps wanted to fill known lacunae in this passage.

A summary of the other events will let us draw the conclusion we require. To begin with, we can date both missions in relation to the rest of the text. After his remark that this was told to him by the *archontes* when he was despatched on his mission, Athanasios continues (718.15–17): after that (λοιπόν[51]) I learnt that the walls had been made so (οὕτω) secure and that an army was again in the city.

This conversation occurred after the letter that Herakleios sent to Constantinople, since that is when the additional construction on the walls was ordered.[52] In addition, the word οὕτω suggests that the works had been shown

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[50]   The text appears to be out of order after this lacuna, too. A proposition: εἰσελθόντος οὖν <τοῦ> αὐτοῦ ᾽Αθανασίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου.

[51]   To be translated this way, hardly as 'furthermore' (that would be the same anyway).

[52]   See n. 3 above.

to Athanasios. As also appears from the next passage, he did not trust what the city's readiness for defense amounted to. That is surely a part of the text that is lost today. Yet the dating 'after the letter of Herakleios' helps little, since we do not know when this letter arrived.[53]

We are better off in dealing with the question of the army. Herakleios did not send a relief force – not even in the form of a vanguard.[54] During later negotiations between a Byzantine delegation and the khagan, the khagan brought some Persians before the Byzantines[55] and threatened them with disaster, explaining (721.21–722.1): these Persians explained that Herakleios did not invade Persia and that the relief force was not coming. This statement shows [387] that the khagan knew (or supposed) that a message from Herakleios had reached the city, reporting that he had invaded Persia that year, in fact, and had despatched a relief force.[56] This surely forms part of the khagan's psychological warfare against the Byzantines and would have been completely stupid if a part of this army, even if only a vanguard, had already arrived. Besides, it is not surprising that a message with this information, which, as will be shown later, formed part of Herakleios' letter, reached the city, perhaps by sea. In the next passage one of the delegates protests vehemently and claims that the Persians are lying. The relief army is on its way (ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει).[57] This, too, would be nonsense if part of this army had already arrived.

The army, about whose existence Athanasios did not know when despatched to the khagan, consisted of troops that had retreated into the city behind the Long Walls from outside Constantinople.

Athanasios then continues: he was prepared to give the khagan the answer that he had received, without change, but he wanted to see the city's army first. So the troops were mustered and there were more than 12,000 cavalry.

So Athanasios was still distrustful about what the capabilities for defense amounted to, yet maintained his loyalty otherwise.

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[53] Pace Dölger on Regest 184.

[54] Here I can only repeat the arguments that I have already put forward in *Zufälliges*, p. 44f.

[55] This can only mean that earlier (meaning during the negotiations with Athanasios; see n. 49 above) the khagan had made it clear that he would withdraw after receiving payment and would not make common cause with the Persians. He probably did not negotiate sincerely with the two sides.

[56] This is Herakleios' letter. See p. 219f.

[57] The present forms should be understood as future. Cf. *Zufälliges*, p. 114 n. 216.

Then the *archontes* gave him an answer whose substance ('we will defend ourselves') implied that the khagan would march against the city. But this means – and this fits the date given above – that the khagan had not yet assailed the city with his main force, but was still hanging back in the distance, probably near Adrianople.

In the next passage Athanasios arrived at the khagan's court but did not receive an audience. Instead the khagan made it clear that he would not offer concessions unless Athanasios turned over the city and all its inhabitants. Now we have reached the time when the Byzantines refused to capitulate and at the same time the khagan was willing [388] to accept nothing less than unconditional surrender. Whether this is still the second mission or yet another is no longer ascertainable. More important is this: the fact that Athanasios was not admitted and the declaration made by the khagan is again in the genitive absolute.[58] The continuation runs (719.4f.): τῇ κθ' τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς αὐτὸς ὁ ... Χαγάνος κατέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος ... Once again the signs point to a lacuna that includes at least two things, the return of Athanasios (in the next passage he is again in the city) and the khagan's departure from Adrianople. So since the report shows great detail where it is complete, a lacuna is virtually necessary.

Yet there is more: on 29 July, the khagan came and showed his entire force (719.6f.): ... καὶ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως. Μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν. τουτέστιν τῇ λα' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίου, ἦλθεν ...

As the devil would have it, there is yet another lacuna, since Μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν could not mean 'after a day (during which nothing happened)'. This means that the entire report for 30 July is missing and as will turn out, parts of the one for 29 July.

All in all, we have only fragments instead of an uninterrupted description. Interpretation of them should accompany an attempt to describe a course of events that is logical in itself and to put the pieces of the sources in hypothetical order.

For an unknown reason – invasion by the Persians, cooperation with them? – the khagan broke the peace and marched against Constantinople. We do not know when the inhabitants of Constantinople learned that beyond the Long Walls a large part of the Balkans had surrendered.

At some point in time they sent *patrikios* Athanasios as a delegate to the

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[58] So the subject of the *gen. abs.* τοῦ ... Χαγάνου (719.3) is the same as the subject of the subordinate clause ὁ ... Χαγάνος. This is simply bad grammar, though it might be explained as vulgar Greek.

khagan, since he had already taken part in the 'treachery' negotiations.[59] He was asked to find out what the khagan wanted. Athanasios [389] naturally did not receive a precise answer, but the khagan, who probably had picked Adrianople as his headquarters, sent him to Constantinople to inquire in turn what people in Constantinople were prepared to pay.

All this happened fairly early, at a time when the Persians had probably not even arrived. The corresponding text (718.4–8) thus belongs among the chapters that have dropped out before the arrival of the Persians (and thus before 716.17).[60]

In Constantinople some people (perhaps a political faction) did not necessarily favour military resistance and Athanasios passed on a proposal for surrender that probably included tribute payments. The khagan apparently accepted, but in a way that made everybody feel bad.

When Athanasios arrived in Constantinople with this message, the mood changed. The population wanted to defend itself and no longer acknowledged its own proposal for negotiations, so that Athanasios had to point it out to them. Athanasios (was he the leader of the party that wanted to surrender?) remained distrustful, but thanks to what they showed him, we can deduce what must have happened in the meantime to change the mood. They showed him the troops in the city – 12,000 cavalry – and the work to strengthen the walls.

As already noted, this last fact clearly indicates that the letter of Herakleios had already arrived.[61] According to George of Pisidia this letter caused the mood to change and set in motion the strengthening of the fortifications.[62] But the letter also contained something else: Herakleios had dispatched a relief force (with Theodore in charge, probably after the victory over Sain).[63] But this [390] does not mean that the troops shown to Athanasios were the vanguard

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[59]   Nikeph. 13.2 This makes my previous argument, that he had been taken prisoner, improbable. Van Dieten rightly argued against my view ('Bemerkungen', p. 174)

[60]   See p. 209.

[61]   See n. 52 above.

[62]   *Bell. Avar.* 266–277. See *Zufälliges*, p. 101 n. 159.

[63]   The relief force appears in *Bell. Avar.* 278–87; next comes verse 288: οὕτως ἕκαστα καὶ κελεύων καὶ γράφων. This means that the report of the letter is here at the end. The word φθάσας in verse 280 does not mean that the army is on the scene but that Herakleios anticipated a request by the city. Verse 278 appears to be out of place with either the transmitted οὐ γὰρ or the conjectured τὸ γὰρ. Should an αὐτοπρόσωπος have been hidden behind these words (he could not come personally)? The text also appears to be incomplete, perhaps with a lacuna after verse 278.

of this relief force. Quite the contrary: after weighing matters carefully, Athanasios will have said, good, but what next? How many soldiers would be in the city until the army arrives? Then they showed him the troops that were able to draw back from the approaches to the walls, unnoticed by Athanasios and perhaps unexpected by anybody.

But all this means that all the events we have had to reconstruct, and that surely must have figured in the *Chronicon* (first negotiations of Athanasios, renewed offers, conditions from the khagan, Herakleios' letter), must have taken place before the flight of the troops from the outlying country to Constantinople, and so before 717.7–10.

Any definite clue for a lacuna cannot be detected. But all this might have been written down in the part before 716.17. In contrast, Athanasios' return from his second mission (718.8–719.4) is in the right place.

Regarding the last lacuna: on 29 July the khagan and the whole of his army marched against Constantinople and appeared before the inhabitants (719.4–7). The events of the next few days are missing but more importantly also the event that is the climax of 29 July for the Byzantines:[64] Sergios' procession over the city walls with the image of Christ, not just to encourage the Byzantines themselves but to stage a religious and theatrical counterbalance to the khagan's parade. No film-maker could do it with more panache.

For us, though, it becomes obvious that no orthodox editor has torn out or (more gently) cut out this climactic act of Sergios', since in that case it would not be logical why the whole next day is missing, too. Instead the *Chronicon Paschale* really was in a catastrophic condition when it was recopied in the Middle Ages.

So just as the procession of Sergios has dropped out, so has his placing of the images of Mary on the city towers, which was perhaps mentioned at the beginning of the letter.[65]

[391] Before concluding, we still should ask whether the condition of the manuscript, which was probably copied in the Macedonian period, cannot help us solve two problems, the notices at the end of the letter and the correct date for the walls of Herakleios.

After I tried to assign these notices in large part to the account of the

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[64]   On the date, see Theod. Synk. 305.18f. and J.L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 15 n. 49.

[65]   See n. 15 above.

'treachery',[66] van Dieten was able to prove to me that all the notes and not just a few as I supposed belonged into the year 626.[67] But when he tries to create a coherent text from them, he is less convincing. Although according to van Dieten the arguments for dating the walls of Herakleios to a time after the siege make sense, it seems to me that this question has not been conclusively answered. Indeed it is wise to think that the area around the Blachernai church was no longer accessible to the Avars in 626. For all these reasons, it is unavoidable that we deal with the notices again.[68]

A. 725.6–8: People say that when the Slavs saw what happened, they withdrew and so the khagan was forced to withdraw as well and follow them.

— It is indisputable that this notice belongs to 626 even if precisely what τὸ γεγονός refers to is no longer ascertainable. Nonetheless, this sentence, with its retrospective interpretation of an event, obviously does not belong to the original report (van Dieten agrees with this too) but was added later. Since this means that the end of this letter from the city to the emperor was also affected by lacunae, one can assume that the editor, the same man who copied the text in the Macedonian period, added this text. It remains open whether he took the text from somewhere else or used a marginal note.

B. 725.9–11: And during the war the khagan also said this: I saw a woman in a splendid dress who walked on top of the walls all by herself.

[392] — In light of the religious interpretation, here, too, we have an inserted note incorporated into the text in the same way as A.

C. 725.11–15: Right before the withdrawal, he declared, 'Do not believe that I quit the battle out of fear. On the contrary, it has turned out that the attack was not made at a favourable moment. I now pull back and harbour my resources. Then I will return and make your lives not worth living if you try anything against me.'

— This text may belong to 626, too (even if taken by itself it suits the 'treachery' just as well). But if we believe van Dieten, that this notice provides a continuation of the report on the siege in the letter of the city to the emperor, this is not the case. The report ends with the following idea at 725.5: ... and in the night he (the khagan) burned the palisades and the defense tower, had the

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[66] *Zufälliges*, pp. 31–34.

[67] See n. 3 above.

[68] I do not want to repeat either my own arguments or van Dieten's. They are not necessary for the following.

hides removed from the tortoises and withdrew. From a grammatical point of view notice C fits as a continuation of this text. But regarding the content the link to ὑμῖν (the Byzantines) is lacking and in the context of the overall tenor of the letter, it is not clear whether, for instance, a delegation was there or whether the khagan shouted these words at the walls. More likely it is again a later declaration, as with notice A, whereas the letter is free of such interpretative passages. So this is a note also corresponding to A and B and surely did not form part of the original letter.

D.   725.15–20: But on Friday the mounted rear-guard still remained outside the walls of the city and on this day set fire to many hamlets until the seventh hour and then withdrew. They also burned the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Blachernai and the church of Saint Nicholas and all the surrounding area.

— Here van Dieten is surely right about this note clearly belonging to 626. That the Avars entered the church of Cosmas and Damian during the 'treachery' is no counter-argument, since they only stole a few things, but now they fired the church. It always lay wide open to attack. Stylistically, this note surely belongs to the original letter and we may glimpse here the uninterrupted conclusion to 725.5 (see my comments on notice C). For this reason notices A, B, and C are proved to be originally marginal notations.

[393] E.   725.20–726.3: The enemy broke into the church of Our Lady the Mother of God and into the holy reliquary casket but could not harm any of the things there because God saw to it at the request of his immaculate Mother.

— Van Dieten remarks that οἱ ἐχθροί need not be simply the rearguard mentioned previously, but by a kind of general allegory can also refer to the period of the siege when the 'enemy' was in the church but could do no damage. But on the other hand this information also fits the rearguard and indeed makes a clear contrast with the churches of Cosmas and Damian and Nicholas, which did not enjoy this explicit protection. And it is beyond dispute that the information also suits the notice on the 'treachery', which says (713.9–13) that the Avars entered the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Blachernai and the church of the Archangel in *Ta Promotou* at the same time and took not only the ciboria and other treasures but destroyed the altar of the church of the Archangel. The notice could even rather belong to the 'treachery', if we put special emphasis on the 'damage' (καταβλάψαι at 726.2). But this assumption implies that a note about the 'treachery' must have been transposed to the period after 626 and above all that in 626, unlike at the

time of the 'treachery', the walls of Herakleios had already been finished, so that the Avars no longer could enter the churches. Before I go any further, however, I should introduce the rest of the notes.

F.   726.4f: But he demanded the very honourable *kommerkiarios* as negotiator.
   — In *Zufälliges* I still thought this was a note connected to the text that followed it. Yet this is wrong, as the next notice goes to show. Before notice F something has surely dropped out; it must have explained why the khagan wanted to negotiate again. That he wanted the *kommerkiarios*, who figured in the message of 2 August (721.5–10, at 7f.: ... καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κομμερκιάριος ὁ τὴν ἴσατιν ...) and seemed a more sensible negotiating partner to the khagan than did the others, Athanasios amongst them. But it is uncharacteristic of the style of the letter for the *kommerkiarios* to be introduced without previously mentioning [394] his name. This might have been done before. Here, too, one can also assume a lacuna.

G.   726.5–10: Bonos gave him the following information: Until today I had full power to negotiate with you and to conclude agreements. But now the emperor's brother has arrived with the God-protected army. Now see how he will overpower you and pursue you back into your own country. And there you can talk to each other.
   — By way of clarification: the actual relief force has only now arrived and crossed over to Europe.[69] Theodore, the emperor's brother, pursuing the khagan is more a threat than an actual fact; in any case, this army never reached Belgrade.[70] On the other hand we must assume a lacuna between this sentence and the preceding one (notice F). It is unusual for the khagan, who goes unnamed in notice F to be introduced simply with αὐτῷ. In addition to that, in every kind of report by letter it should mention that at the khagan's request this person or that went back to him as a delegate and conveyed the information. Yet even if this need not have been so, if F and G were notes, we must certainly assume a lacuna beforehand. This in turn means that in addition to the lack of a formal conclusion to the letter[71] the end of the text was disturbed, probably because of the poor condition of the manuscript.

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[69]   See n. 54 above.
[70]   As R.-J. Lilie proves in a brilliant investigation (also one directed against me) in 'Kaiser Herakleios und die Ansiedlung der Serben. Überlegungen zum Kapitel 32 des *De Administrando Imperio*', *Südostforschungen* 44 (1985), pp. 17–43.
[71]   See n. 40 above.

This fresh analysis of notices 725.6–726.10 surely has had some results, but all in all more possibilities than certainties. The essential questions are still open.

The first question is whether notice E — the Avars broke into the Blachernai church — really belongs to 626. The tone of the report in the letter appears to me to rule out a summary note narrated in imitation or in conjunction with the damage done to the other churches. If the report places this break-in at a specific moment, that seems to me to match the tone of the letter much better.

[395] Now we can understand all the military and strategic measures taken by both sides, Byzantines and Avars, more easily by assuming that in 626 the walls of Herakleios were already finished. This applies not only to the khagan's attack on the seawalls with his fleet of ships in the Golden Horn[72] but also to many minor details.[73] On the other hand it is beyond dispute that the *Chronicon Paschale* assigns the construction of the walls only to the following year (726.14f.). It is easy to assume that in 626 the building work had already begun and that this basic construction prevented an Avar breakthrough but that the walls were completed only in 627. In addition, a marginal note in the *Chronicon Paschale* puts the walls' completion a year earlier (in the 15th year of Herakleios' reign),[74] a report that is important in so far as the same author who inserted this marginal note also noticed the difference in the dates. Van Dieten wishes to play down the meaning of this marginal note, stating that it is wrong in mentioning Herakleios, since in fact the 15th year of Herakleios Constantine is meant, Herakleios Constantine being obviously named only because Herakleios was still fighting the Persians.[75] Even if I think this improbable – datings are according to the main emperor or both – I find it hard to find any stringent proof for an earlier date for the completion of the walls of Herakleios.

Yet I would like to assume that not only that the note about the Avar invasion of the Blachernai church belongs to the 'treachery' but that the note about the walls is also in the wrong place.

The basis for a demonstration of my case might appear if one could establish

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[72]   Such an attack would have been absurd if there had been access by land to the seawall by way of the northern Brachialion.

[73]   Like the surprise of the Armenians. On the location of the church of Nicholas, see most recently 'Klassizismus in achten Jahrhundert?', p. 220 n. 59 [above, p. 134].

[74]   Appar. crit. ad 726.15.

[75]   'Bemerkungen', p. 167.

some corruption in the text on the 'treachery' (712.12–713.14). And in fact the text on the 'treachery' does also seem disordered to me.[76]

[396] 713.1–5: the entire force of the khagan passed into the area behind the Long Walls while he remained with a few followers outside, καὶ ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν ὅτι that he would have broken through the walls and entered the city had God not prevented him from doing so.

Apart from the fact that it is unclear whether the khagan now wanted to break into the vicinity of the Long Walls or into the city, this is an additional 'utterance' by the khagan corresponding to notices B and C above, and belongs to 626 rather than the 'treachery, especially since the adjective 'long' is missing from the mention of the walls. Add that the linguistic link is impossible, a problem which suggests that the editor has wrongly inserted a piece of text that originally was probably a marginal note to the prototype, the same as notices A to C. Here he did the 'right thing', philologically speaking, since he did not seek to smooth out the text.

The next passage prompts doubts, too (713.5–8): the khagan's people went there (meaning the area on this side of the Long Walls) on this Sunday in the evening (ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας – until when?) as far as the Golden Gate (ἕως τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτας – from where? Later they were in the area of Blachernai and on 'the other side' at Ta Promotou) and they took all that they could carry as loot, including people and animals.

Something is missing here, too, such as 'from one end of the walls to the other'.

Finally, the conclusion of this report about the treachery is likewise informative. After the Avars break into the churches previously mentioned, it says (713.13f.): καὶ πάντας μετὰ τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων αὐτῶν μετῴκισαν πέραν τοῦ Δανουβίου, μηδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος. This of course is flawless from a grammatical point of view but the abrupt content seems dubious. Considering the character of the text, one would at least expect that a fresh indication of the date (for example, 'on the next day').[77] Then we might have found precisely the place where notice E could belong: before the words καὶ πάντας.

[397] The poor condition of the notice on the 'treachery' of the Avars leads

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[76] There must already be doubts whether this section is in the right passage. See p. 209f. above and 'Das geteilte Dossier'.

[77] Nikeph. 14.8–10 knows the number of prisoners taken. Something similar might also be assumed in the case of *Chron. Pasch.*

to another conclusion: the editor of the archetype probably had this only in the form of a loose 'scrap' of text. He therefore tried to insert the note with the help of the dates given. Thanks to the statements 'Sunday' and '5 June' he fixed on the year 623 and for no longer obvious reasons overlooked the year 617, where the 'treachery' actually belonged. Then the editor even went a step further. Since he was convinced that 623 was the date of the 'treachery', he placed the expedition of Herakleios against the Persians, which he probably also found undated, in the following year, 624, without being able to see his own error.[78]

Be that as it may, it is indisputable that the end of the *Chronicon Paschale* contains more corruptions than scholars have until now assumed.

As far as I am concerned, I have sufficient proof that in 626 the Avars did not break into the Blachernai church – despite the generally poor condition of the *Chronicon Paschale*. I also believe it adequately proven that during the siege of 626 the walls of Herakleios had already been finished. Whether the note in the text (627)[79] or the marginal note (626) are right, is therefore of little importance, the more so if they indicate that the walls were complete and perhaps a kind of official dedicatory ceremony took place.[80]

Yet even if the proof satisfies me, I readily admit that others may not be convinced. May discussion of the question proceed.

3: Bellum Avaricum, verses 457–61

Rhetoric was and is a difficult subject and we should not condemn anyone in advance for not immediately understanding anything rhetorically complex. Verses 457–61 of the *Bellum Avaricum* offer [398] an instance of such a 'difficult' passage. First the text in Pertusi's version:

> Ξένον γὰρ οὐδέν. εἰ ⟨προ⟩πολεμεῖ Παρθένος.
> δι' ἧς παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σέβας
> οὐκ οἶδα πῶς πεμφθεῖσα ῥομφαία πάλιν·
> ὅμως παρῆλθεν ἢ διῆλθεν ὀξέως
> τρώσασα τὴν ἄτρωτον οὐδαμοῦ φύσιν.

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[78]   Regarding this point, see also 'Das geteilte Dossier'.

[79]   It would then be misplaced too.

[80]   I realize that Nikephoros too dates the construction of the walls of Herakleios to after the siege (18.27–19.1). For details on this question, see 'Das geteilte Dossier'.

Querci in fact could not cope with the text,[81] while Pertusi's interpretation makes no sense.[82] My own is wrong[83] and even van Dieten's suggestion offers no solution.[84]

We need to focus our attention on the following fact: in the preceding verses (448–456), the subject is how people might have assumed that Mary alone fought against the Slavic ships. But then the transition 'Ξένον γὰρ οὐδέν' with the explanation γὰρ is no good, since an explanation is not expected here, but rather in the next verse. Pertusi in fact translates, 'Del resto (non è per nulla strano, ...).' I do not start with γάρ, either and refer to it only in the next verse: 'Obviously, Mary fights, for ...' Similarly, van Dieten tries to tone it down: 'It is indeed no wonder.' [Es ist ja auch gar kein Wunder]

In fact, a contextual explanation for why Mary fights only emerges in verse 458. In 457 one must assume a rather convoluted remark like Pertusi's 'It is in fact in no way surprising that Mary fights.'

[399] This is followed by an explanation that in itself ought to be more convincing than the one implied by a relative clause. The γάρ in 457 is in any event out of place.

In 458 recent discussion has failed to clarify whether δι' ἧς is locative or instrumental and also whether παρῆλθεν means 'pass by' or 'enter'. παρῆλθεν is suspect for another reason. Since it is repeated within two verses

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[81]   PG 92, 1290A/B. The translation is wrong and incomplete. Only his conjecture at 457, πολεμίζει, deserves mention. Pertusi does not give this (unlike Sternbach's προπολεμεῖ or στρατεγεῖ and Hilberg's πολεμεῖ καί): A. Pertusi, 'I frammenti della III Acroasi dell "Eracliade" di Giorgio Pisida', *Miscellanea del Centro di studi medievali*, serie 2 (Milan, 1958), pp. 1–34.

[82]   He thinks that the sword passes through her (δι' ἧς) into her soul.

[83]   Not for the reasons van Dieten gives in 'Bermerkungen' but for others that I actually quote. Saying that I 'cheat' is amusing, but if I 'cheat' so does *Liddell-Scott-Jones* s.v. διά with the genitive III.A.a. But an explanation is not worth the trouble.

[84]   His version does not make Παρθένος the antecedent of the relative clause ('Bemerkungen', p. 177f.). Instead he extracts a proleptic αὐτῆς (=Constantinople) from δι' ἧς and translates, 'Mary fights for those through whom, I do not know how, a sword pierces again into their honourable soul .... The path of the sword into the soul of the Theotokos led via the city of Constantinople [Maria kämpft für (die), durch die erneut ein Schwert, ich weiss nicht wie lanciert, in ihre ehrwürdige Seele drang ... Der Weg des Schwertes in die Seele der Theotokos führt über die Stadt Konstantinopel]'. I keep my comments to myself, since the reasoning behind this suggestion collapses because of objections that must be expressed in similar terms.

without any evident point, it is stylistically poor, especially after a quite pointed διῆλθεν (see below).

To simplify the rest of my argumentation, let me now introduce a proposal to emend 458:

αὐτῆς γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σέβας.

The emphatically placed αὐτῆς has a precedent in the expressive stress on the same word in Luke 2.35, the actual source for the reference: καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία. This eliminates the unclear δι᾽ ἧς, though on the other hand it can easily be explained as an attempt at an interpretive reading of a very poorly preserved majuscule exemplar. The verse therefore answers the question why Mary fights with the explanation that it was her soul which was afflicted (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σέβας).

Then a sword once again came to her. But the situation today is different than at the time of Christ's death, and one must pay attention to this difference when reading the next verses, since the poet surely intended it. As Simeon prophesied, a sword would pass through Mary's soul. But in 626 a sword passing through her soul would have been a mistaken expression, since Mary was fighting and people easily might have thought that she was defeated or even killed. So George of Pisidia, in a more refined formulation, says that a sword returned, a sword aimed at her soul, but without detailing what happened with it. He thus used a simple ἦλθεν, which is only specified later, via composite forms, παρῆλθεν or διῆλθεν. That way he left the choice between the two open (see below), just as if he did not know why this sword had returned and why it was being aimed at her soul. That it was there, there can be no doubt: the Avars [400] were on the scene(!). The sword's return is therefore clear, and it is also clear as well that the sword is the reason for Mary's rescue mission. Thus γὰρ ἦλθεν instead of παρῆλθεν, which again can be explained as an interpretive misreading of a barely readable majuscule exemplar and also as an echo of the same form two verses later.

So Mary fights because of the return of this sword aimed at her soul. Yet this does not finish with the (undisclosed) reasons for her struggle. She certainly fights now, while she was condemned to passive suffering during Christ's death. Then a struggle on her part was out of the question, for Christ's sacrificial death could and must not be prevented. But the fall of Constantinople was an event that had to be prevented (and actually was prevented at the time of the composition of the *Bellum Avaricum*).

How the truly gentle and mild Virgin came to fight, and in fact to do battle

like an ancient goddess, would have been a difficult matter for Pisides to explain in theological terms. So he had recourse to his own ignorance: he does not know how the sword came and was aimed at her soul. Naturally this has something to do with Constantinople, but it would be regarded as blatantly heretical for Mary to fight for Constantinople though she did not fight for her son. But these verses were not written for examination under a magnifying glass. Everything remains vague. But a final thought seems advisable: this time Mary was personally threatened by the sword. She defended herself in the city because she had to. The fall of Constantinople would have meant not only her death but the death of Christendom and thus of Christ himself. And this would have been a different death than the one on the cross, one without a resurrection. George of Pisidia might have seen all this in this way.

The remaining verses are now clear. Although in connection with this insertion the battle does continue, George of Pisidia anticipates the outcome. He sticks to the image of the sword, but still leaves open the question of the actual nature of the sword: either the sword has 'passed by' (παρῆλθεν, which is pointed and meaningful, and surely used in the sense of 'passing by' the goblet in Matt. 26.39), or it has quickly 'passed through' (διῆλθεν is necessary as concluding the reference to Luke 2.35).

[401] Here, too, George of Pisidia displays his rhetorical talent: nothing happened to the city. So the sword does not strike or (he says) it passed through quite quickly without doing harm. He might be thinking of the popular medical theory, according to which a needle stuck quickly through the skin leaves no traces, just as so-called fakirs are able to do. I have not tried to verify this theory (perhaps one could already even find it in the *Hexameron*), since what matters to me is that by using this or a similar theory George of Pisidia could introduce the διῆλθεν offered by the passage in Luke but without leaving the impression that the Avars pushed into Constantinople. From this use of διῆλθεν one should not even conclude that the Avars were briefly and fleetingly in the Blachernai area of the city without being able to do any harm, since this is excluded by παρῆλθεν, which in George of Pisidia's interpretation is an equal possibility.[85] For George of Pisidia, this is simply a rhetorically clever insertion of διῆλθεν.

The sword goes past or quickly through but could do no harm: Mary's invulnerable nature remains invulnerable. Here again George of Pisidia thinks

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[85]   In this respect the passage also suggests that in 626 the Avars were not in the Blachernai church and that the walls of Herakleios therefore were probably already finished.

on two levels. Of course Mary is ἀειπαρθένος and her nature is invulnerable. But for precisely this reason she also turns into a god-like, invulnerable heroine who stands in the heat of battle and can defend the city, a better example than Achilles, with his vulnerable heel. And another association becomes obvious. As long as Mary remains unharmed, Constantinople survives, because she defends it. This identification of Mary and Constantinople rings true and so the verses form a masterpiece of rhetorical–theological interpretation of history.

Verse 457 still remains. As noted, γάρ cannot be kept. Instead, a simple connective particle is needed. But I cannot think of one that could match γάρ metrically. As a particle, δέ comes closest, but then ξένον must go. So perhaps: Ξένιζε δ' οὐδέν 'it was not strange at all'. In the second part of the verse, πολεμεῖ is surely wrong metrically. Sternbach's emendation of προπολεμεῖ, accepted by Pertusi, does not fit well, since Mary neither [402] fights for anybody (she only does that in van Dieten's view) nor fights at the front; rather, the important thing is that she fights at all (and on her own). So we certainly do not accept Hilberg's καὶ Παρθένος but at best Querci's πολεμίζει. Yet in the imperfect tense (πολέμιζε) required as a parallel to ξένιζε, it does sound right. So I propose to put the received reading, πολεμεῖ, into the imperfect and to insert a γε to eliminate the hiatus. So the whole verse runs,

Ξένιζε δ' οὐδέν, εἰ γ' ἐπολέμει Παρθένος.

No proof is needed that the archetype of the manuscript, probably a badly preserved majuscule exemplar, justifies conjectures.[86] And I hope I have shown that with the help of the emendation I have proposed the verses are clear and easy to interpret and most of all finally receive the intended meaning. Even if someone rejects the proposed emendation – even I am not entirely content with verse 457 – I would hope that the person would take the observations of Paul Maas on the evaluation of conjectures into account[87] and only get indignant after having done that.

This concludes my thoughts on van Dieten's essay. Since the subject surely is connected to the Eskimos,[88] his essay is understandably polemical from time to time. For an appropriate moralizing conclusion,[89] I would like to imitate the

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[86] Cf. Pertusi, p. 63.
[87] *Textkritik* (4th edn, Leipzig, 1960), p. 10.
[88] Cf. *Artabasdos*, p. 399 n. 801.
[89] Cf. also *Byz. Zeitschr.* 79 (1986), p. 95.

tomcat Μεχλεμπέ.[90] In the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes, mentioned at the outset, the empress Zoe says about him,

"Άρχοντες. ἐχασμήσατο τανῦν ὁ Μεχλεμπέ μου.

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[90] Μεχλεμπέ is a kind of cat (and not weasel) as indicated by its possibly Arabic(?) name, which perhaps even refers to a gift from the Orient (see my comments in Ἑλληνικά 22 [1969], p. 482 n. 3). Tzetzes mentions the tomcat in a paragraph about the εἱμαρμένη (5.512–546 ed. Leone). Even Byzantinists succumb to it!

Was Bronze a Rare Metal?
The Legend of the Bull in the 'Bous'
in 'Parastaseis' Ch. 42

War Bronze ein knappes Metal?
Die Legende von dem Stier auf dem Bus in den 'Parastaseis' 42

[3] To establish continuity in military matters between the sixth and the seventh century,[1] W.E. Kaegi[2] uses amongst other sources ch. 42 of the Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαί,[3] which concerns the melting down of the Βοῦς in the *Forum Bovis* by Herakleios. Kaegi would explain this as a means of obtaining metal for coinage to defray the cost of the Persian War in a general levy on the empire. No matter how he arrived at his interpretation of the passage[4] and also disregarding his own reservations[5] and others expressed to him,[6] he has

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[1]   His fundamental purpose is to demonstrate that the themes are not institutions resulting from the reforms of Herakleios. I cannot and do not wish to contradict this view.

[2]   'Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), pp. 87–113, at 90–98; hereafter Kaegi.

[3]   48.11–49.12, ed. T. Preger, *Scriptorum Originum Constantinopolitarum* I (Leipzig, 1901), hereafter Preger.

[4]   See also below. It was probably suggested to him by the commentators on the *Parastaseis* (see his Foreword, p. 87), who for their part borrowed his interpretation. See A. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The 'Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai'* (Leiden, 1984), p. 229f, hereafter Cameron–Herrin.

[5]   Kaegi, p. 93. 'It is true that the ox-head was merely bronze, not precious metal, but its meltdown did produce twenty-four *stathma* worth of coin from its bronze. The ox-head did adorn a famous forum in Constantinople but the empire's financial circumstances were so strained that the melting of the ox-head would have been one of the emergency actions that were deemed to be necessary for survival.'

[6]   The coin type apparently required by the description (bronze coins with portrait busts of Herakleios and his son or sons minted in Constantinople) does not exist; information from Ph. Grierson in Kaegi, p. 90 n. 9. But this argument is not compelling, since it is known that such coins were occasionally minted elsewhere. Cf. Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the*

published his hypothesis and since then it has has been accepted as proof of an historical fact.[7]

[4] The consequences of this hypothesis are greater than Kaegi himself has realized: there was no bronze to be had in Constantinople during the early seventh century! Yet until now people might have had the impression (and they could be proved right) that bronze existed and was available by the ton. But if there was a shortage, and bronze coin, which would of course have to be transported to the East, could help finance a campaign,[8] then bronze would have a sort of scrap metal price. Tearing down statues, melting them down and offering them to the imperial court: this was a dream come true for the war profiteers!

Could that actually be true?[9] As always, a look at the text proves rewarding and refreshing.[10]

Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection II, 1, *Phocas and Heraclius* (Washington, DC, 1968), for example pl. 17, nos 179, 180a.2, 182b.

[7] Most recently N. Oikonomides, 'Middle-Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament', in *Gonimos, Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988), pp. 121–36, at 135 n. 38.

[8] I would happily admit that Kaegi does not postulate a coinage that was made of bronze alone.

[9] Antique bronze was repeatedly and even regularly melted down for coins: that is not the problem. The problem is the metal value of bronze and a possible shortage of this metal as far back as the early seventh century. This leads to the assumption that bronze coins actually had a monetary value in relation to gold, to the *solidus*, which although it was subject to fluctuations, nevertheless was fixed exactly; cf. W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* (Vienna, 1973–81), I, p. 27, II, p. 15f., III, p. 16 (also on Herakleios). If the weight of the bull was known, one could then estimate how many bronze coins one could get out of it and how many *solidi* they would be worth. At a ton of bronze, the bull would have a monetary value of exactly 108 *solidi* in this period, 616–24 (30 lbs bronze = 1080 folles, at 1/36 lb or 9.1 grams per *solidus*. The lb is fixed at 327.45 grams). But this holds good only if the bull is already melted down and turned into scrap and the scrap has been coined. Most importantly, this calculation rests on the assumption that uncoined metal has the same value as coined. Yet there is no basis for this assumption. And whereas transporting 108 *solidi* is relatively simple, I imagine that transporting a ton of bronze is pretty expensive. No war is won that way. So for me the main problem is consequently the careless use of sources that can prove anything one wants to prove.

[10] As always, I combine quotation and commentary, but only for the sentences that are of importance.

(48.1–49.3)
6. The sights: the Bull

The sight in the 'Bous'[11] which was erected[12] by Valentian the *praipositos* of Constans in the Hippodrome and which was preserved into our times[13] was a gigantic oven (κάμινος δὲ παμμεγέθης μεγάλη ...).[14] On the pretext that they were criminals Julian had many Christians burnt to death there (ἔνθα Ἰουλιανὸς ... ἐν αὐτῇ ...).

This text is obviously corrupt in two places:

48.15f.: κάμινος παμμεγέθης μεγάλη is unacceptable, since the sentence has no finite verb. Possibly μεγάλη was probably derived from a verb.

49.1f.: In ἔνθα Ἰουλιανός ... πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Χριστιανοὺς κατέκαυσε the repetition of ἔνθα – ἐν αὐτῇ is troubling. The simplest way to explain this is that ἔνθα refers to the square. But then one must assume a bigger mix-up in the text – a lacuna – since ἔνθα does not relate to anything in the existing text.

As a working hypothesis I would like to suggest that the manuscript of the *Parastaseis* itself (Parisinus gr. 1336), or rather its prototype, was copied from an exemplar that was very difficult to read in places. This might also be another case of a text preserved from Late Antiquity or the early Dark Ages but barely

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[11] Referring to the square which got its name from the statue of a bull that stood there and is mentioned in my title. Regarding this point and also on what follows, see A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 8 (Bonn, 1980), pp. 348–50, hereafter Berger. I thank A. Berger for his critical reading of my manuscript and for many references for the article.

[12] The text seems somehow edited, since the word οἰκοδομηθῆναι is not suitable for a statue. If the word was not written carelessly (or copied incorrectly), it might mean that the just-mentioned oven perhaps was a building with a statue of a bull on top, a possibility for which there is additional evidence (see below, p. 237; the text of the *Anon. Treu* has κάμινος ἐκτισμένη). Yet this cannot have been the original text, since the word 'building' was not carried over. The actual (alleged) oven was in fact a bull (and probably was originally displayed in the Hippodrome), cf. Berger. On the existence of a building which the bull stood upon, see the following.

[13] That is, the author most likely wrote in the period after Herakleios, but knows about the melting down of the bull at Herakleios' order and says that the oven has survived until our time. Yet if the 'oven' (meaning the building with a bull on it) is what he is referring to, and not the bull, this is not so material for dating; nonetheless the origin of the text lies somewhere in the later seventh century.

[14] It is not explicitly said but from what follows it is evident that the bull is meant by the oven. The bull is the actual θέαμα on the Forum Bovis.

readable or physically extremely mixed-up, which during the Byzantine renaissance[15] – roughly, in the ninth and tenth centuries – was copied as well as was possible, a process of which there are plenty of examples.[16]

[6] If one then adds the fact that the *Parastaseis* were evidently assembled from varied, stylistically inconsistent 'blocks'[17] and show a very striking tendency to be 'lacuna prone' with regard to the monuments and also to the period under consideration,[18] one should no longer say that the *Parastaseis* were 'composed' by one or more authors, each using a different source. If one examines their origin in the light of philological and antiquarian efforts[19] during the Byzantine renaissance, it is obvious that someone sat down and collected up all the notes[20] which he considered important for his historical and topographical interests in a dossier or folder, and then copied it as a text without claiming it as a 'work' but rather with the wish of preparing a readable copy of his dossier. This explains the title which the compiler gave his collection,[21] for this lacks inspiration: Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί or brief historical documents.

As for the effect of this on the dating, we should no longer speak of a 'date for the *Parastaseis*', but on the one hand, only of the date of this copy of the dossier, and on the other of the date of some of the still recognizable blocks. A thorough analysis of the *Parastaseis* could doubtless prove this. But I will not undertake such an analysis here.

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[15] I spare the reader the detailed bibliography, which he may find in my 'Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance', *Varia* II=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 253–83.

[16] See my 'Die Interpretation des Bellum Avaricum und der Kater Μεχλεμπέ', *Varia* II=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 371–402, hereafter Μεχλεμπέ. *Das geteilte Dossier* (see n. 26); and, for the west, 'Marginalien zu dem Gedicht *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris* des Corippus', completed with the assistance of members of the Berlin Byzantine seminar, to appear in *Philologus*.

[17] See Cameron–Herrin, p. 9f.

[18] Ibid., pp. 38, 44f., and Berger, p. 42f.

[19] Certainly the fashion for unusual stories is significant for this renaissance.

[20] As so often, one must start with individual separate documents or fragments of such documents.

[21] In fact it cannot of course be established whether the title was given to the dossier or to the copy of this dossier (i.e., the prototype of Paris gr. 1336), or just to the Parisinus itself (see the stemma on p. 239 below). I lean towards the first copy of the dossier, which possibly was composed by the compiler; see below, n. 39.

In any case, it has already been noticed that especially in the block of
θεάματα (ch. 37–43) there are heaps of corruptions.[22] This, too, supports the
argument for the origin of the *Parastaseis* that I have presented here, inasmuch
as one can confidently conclude that the document Περὶ θεαμάτων had been
a separate 'volume' of the 'Seven Wonders'[23] of Constantinople' which [7]
reached the dossier in rather a poor condition. This document must belong to
the seventh century.[24]

For the understanding of the next passage it is important[25] that in the square
named 'Bous' the *corpses* of the condemned (or the *half-dead* who had been
dragged through town bound by the ankles) were customarily burned at the
stake.[26] Yet our story uses these facts to create an effect of horror and indirectly
explains that Julian did not have the corpses (already dead!) burnt in the

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[22]   Cameron–Herrin, p. 16.

[23]   Θέαμα and θαῦμα are similar in meaning; cf. Berger, p. 154.

[24]   Probably right after Herakleios, still in the late seventh century. See n. 13 above and
also below.

[25]   My colleague P. Schreiner will again find that I adopt 'an inconsistent mode of
argument' and 'a disorganized presentation'. In fact I am discussing something other than
textual history, although I continue to speak about text editing. So I now need to argue in a
way that I would never think of expecting from anyone else, least of all my learned critics.

[26]   Actually in the square, on a stake expressly erected for the purpose, not *in* the bull.
This is the only reasonable interpretation of the relevant passages. See Berger, p. 349 n. 10
(But Nikephoros 72 and the two passages from the synaxarion are only executions in the
square). Also relevant is the burning of the corpse of Phokas by the demes. He was executed
for the murder of Maurice and his family – while still aboard a ship, in the presence of
Herakleios – and his head and arms were then speared on weapons and paraded through the
city and his body dragged to the 'Bous' square and burned there. (See my *Das geteilte
Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios
und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn,
1988), pp. 228–33, hereafter *Dossier*.) This means that the punishment continued beyond
the death of the condemned. His soul could find no peace and his body was barred from
resurrection. Cameron–Herrin, p. 229 s.v. 'furnace', think that there actually was a walled
oven with a separate statue of a bull on it, since even after the melting down of the bull
the bodies of the condemned were still burnt there. But as noted, a place for burning at the
stake suffices. An oven in the sense of a crematorium is a modern notion, since the burning
of the bodies of the condemned had to be very public! Whether and how the legend derived
from a bull unconnected to an oven is something I will be able to explain below and in any
case I will explain that the legend is only comprehensible as such, since there was no real
oven.

square, but that people were thrown into the fire (into the oven![27]) alive, as was supposed to happen.[28]

(49.3–5)
But the oven supported a wonderful sight, a gigantic bronze bull.[29] In the Neorion another bull had been cast in the same shape (ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος φέρουσα βοὸς χαλκοῦ παμμεγεθεστάτου θέαμά τι, οὗπέρ κατὰ μίμησιν ⟨καὶ βοῦς⟩ ἐν τὰ Νεωρισίῳ λιμένι κατετυπώθη).

[8] Even if the bull in the Neorion is an addition by Lambeck,[30] the sentence discloses an important conclusion: we are dealing with a pair of bulls, one of which was installed in the Neorion.[31] According to this passage, the oven and the bull are not identical. The oven simply supports the bull, which is the visual wonder, even though the bull and the oven are linked by the epithet 'gigantic', as required by the legend.[32] Instead of referring to an oven that is separate from the bull,[33] one could keep the text straight by removing φέρουσα. Whether the author really does mean an oven and for this reason has separated the oven from the bull by using φέρουσα is not clear, as we will see later.

Before I proceed further, a glance at the *Anonymus Treu* and at the *Patria* is necessary.[34]

Preger long ago realised the importance of the *Anon. Treu*[35] and its place in

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[27] ἐν αὐτῇ meaning in the κάμινος, being the bull that had not however been mentioned.

[28] For parallels to this legend, which goes back to the bull of Phalaris, see Berger, p. 349 n. 8. See also below at n. 43.

[29] In the text βοῦς is always masculine, but ox is not an appropriate translation, since oxen are gelded.

[30] It is also attested in the *Anon. Treu*. See below.

[31] This bull was colossal too and inspired legends: *Patria* II.88, ed. Preger (Leipzig, 1907), p. 196.14–19. Cf. Berger, p. 429f.

[32] See n. 28 above.

[33] As most recently in Cameron–Herrin, p. 229 s.v. 'furnace'.

[34] *Anon. Treu*, as printed in Preger's *apparatus criticus* to *Parast.* 42, and likewise in *Patria* II.53, p. 180.8–15 Preger.

[35] 'Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', *Programm des K. Maximilians-Gymnasium f. d. Schuljahr 1894/95* (Munich, 1895), pp. 30–40. See also Berger, p. 48. With regard to the manuscript tradition, the conclusions reached below confirm the results obtained by Preger. They certainly show the need for a review of the transmission of the entire text. I, however, cannot undertake this work; I originally wished to write only some notes and now intend to finish my book about Leo III.

the tradition.[36] The passage in question runs as follows:[37]

Περὶ τοῦ βοός· Κάμινος ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐκτισμένη παμμεγέθης βοὸς ἔχουσα κεφαλήν·
ἔνθα οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο. ὅθεν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων
πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστιανοὺς κατέκαυσεν· ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος βοὸς τύπος
παμμεγεθεστάτου θέαμα, οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ βοῦς
ἀπετυπώθη· ἦν δὲ ὁ βοῦς ἡ κάμινος ἕως Φωκᾶ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου ἐχωνεύθη
λόγῳ νουμμίων.

Because of certain peculiarities in this text, it seems to be the case [9] that even
the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* was an attempt to decipher the dossier directly
(and not to decipher something like the prototype of the Parisinus) and to copy
it in an abridged edition. The following observations in particular support these
conclusions:

(ἦν ἐκεῖ) ἐκτισμένη – this could be a better reading than the meaningless
μεγάλη in the *Parastaseis*. Here the *Anon. Treu* seems to have altered the word
order. Its prototype, from which the *Patria* derive, too, had read: παμμεγέθης
ἐκτισμένη and this yields the word order to be postulated, because of the
corruption, in the prototype of the Parisinus as well. The text of the *Patria* is
not flawless. Consider for example: εἰς δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Βοῦν κάμινος ἦν
ἐκεῖσε. The *Anon. Treu* appears to have normalized this passage by using ἦν
ἐκεῖ and by transposition. In addition, the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and of
the *Patria* appears intended not just as a copy but as an edition. Thus it omits
the phrase ἕως ἡμῶν διασωθεῖσα as not relevant for its own time.

Along with these observations a stemma can be created. This of course,
needs to be proved during the course of the investigation.

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[36]   In his publication of the corresponding passage (see n. 34 above) the important parts
are inset.
[37]   I mention the few discrepancies from the *Patria* in the course of my analysis; they
make it necessary to assume that the *Anon. Treu* was not the prototype of the *Patria*.

Dossier – a generally confused
and barely decipherable text[38]

Prototype of the Parisinus[39]   Prototype of the *Anon.*
(copy)   *Treu* and the *Patria*
                                          (edition of the Dossier,
                                          corresponding to x in
                                          Preger)

Parisinus gr. 1336
(copy)
                                    Patria   *Anon. Treu*
                                    (copy)   (editorial revision)
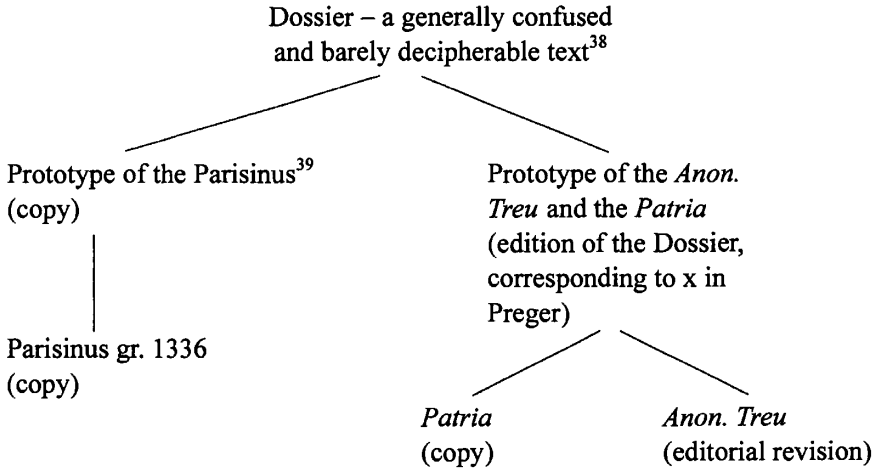
[10] κεφαλήν: even if many modern scholars call it a possibility,[40] κεφαλήν is
impossible. Why should an oven have had a cow's head? This fits neither the
legend nor the fact. The text of the dossier probably had μορφήν *vel sim*, which
was misread during the transcription of the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and of
the *Patria*[41] and could in fact no longer be deciphered during the transcription
of the prototype of the Parisinus and was omitted.

ἔνθα οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο. ὅθεν ... ἐν αὐτῷ. Here the prototype
of the Parisinus did not pay attention or or could not read anything. Certainly
the lacuna postulated above (p. 234) can be explained by this passage; it also
clarifies the change from ἐν αὐτῷ to ἐν αὐτῇ to correspond with κάμινος. But

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[38]   One could think that it was not written on parchment but on a light, destructible
material, perhaps on papyrus; cf. *Dossier*, index s.v. 'papyrus'.

[39]   This prototype is necessary because the manuscript of the *Anon. Treu* (10th century),
which is older than that of the *Parast.* (11th century), for the most part deciphers the *Dossier*
less well than does the *Parast.*, but one should scarcely assume that the condition of the
Dossier had improved in the meantime. It is also worth observing the same man who
collected the *Dossier* – obviously because of the poor condition of the entries – took the
trouble to make a personal copy.

[40]   E.g., R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (2nd ed., Paris, 1964), p. 69, who calls it the
only transmitted form.

[41]   We need not assume at all that this misreading was induced by any real event. See
p. 246 below.

the former agrees with βοῦς, proving that in the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and in the *Patria* κεφαλήν is evidently false.

θέαμα: in the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and the *Patria*, this is meaningless and might very readily be deleted. It could have got into the text as a marginal gloss, during work on the text, so to speak, to show that the τύπος βοός is the real θέαμα. That could also have been a gloss to the text of the dossier which was transcribed into the prototype of the *Anon. Treu*. In the place where the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and *Patria* have τύπος, which means something, the *Parastaseis* have the dubious φέρουσα. This suggests the conclusion that φέρουσα was misread instead of an indistinct τύπος. Finally, the *Parastaseis* also have θέαμά (τι) in the same place. All this taken together supports the argument that θέαμα (maybe together with the article τό?[42]) was a gloss on the text of the dossier.

The following text in the dossier then probably could no longer be read, when the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and the *Patria* was made, or was thought uninteresting and much abbreviated: ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος ἕως Φωκᾶ. A gloss was then added to explain κάμινος itself: ὁ βοῦς. The *Anon. Treu* copied this gloss into the text, but the *Patria* omitted it. I hope I have already established that all the passages that let one suppose that the βοῦς and the oven are not the same are already suspect because of their transmission,[43] [11] but that the assumption of a bull separate from the oven arose for some reason yet to be ascertained.

Even the conclusion, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου ἐχωνεύθη λόγῳ νουμμίων (φόλλεων – *Patria*) is an attempt to interpret the no longer legible text. But this means that the editor/copyist of the prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and of the *Patria* has done just what more recent editors have done, which is simply to infer a reference to money from the three things mentioned – money chests, metal and smelting. He was so sure about it that he simply wrote the completely vague and unconnected λόγῳ νουμμίων without actually saying (even though he probably believed) that the metal was melted down for coin. Whether in the end he wrote νουμμίων or φόλλεων is no longer ascertainable.

But all in all, the stemma that I have suggested and that Preger presented previously has proved to be both possible and correct. It has also fulfilled its purpose insofar as it has shown that there is no supportable reason for the assumption that the original text of the dossier necessarily had anything to do

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[42] The only possibility explaining the meaningless τι seems to me to be that the marginal note had one above the other τό θέαμα. This was then misread as θέαμά τι.

[43] Kedrenos, 566.10f. (Bonn) is also unequivocal.

with money as the result of smelting. More likely, the text of the Parisinus or better still, the text of its prototype, which in this case, too, attempted to copy its own prototype, and thus the dossier, must be interpreted without reference to any thoughts about money. This will be attempted in the following passages:

(49.5–7)
Because of the burnings an evil reputation clung to this bronze bull (it was covered with disgrace) down to the time of the unworthy Phokas.

This is either clumsily expressed or inaccurately copied. If the sentence is interpreted exactly, Phokas must have been the one who removed the μῶμον. Can we any longer tell whether the actual text meant that Phokas was the pinnacle of every vice according to the propaganda of Herakleios and thus meant that Herakleios had no choice but to melt down the bull, as is said in the next sentence? I think this interpretation is probably right, but we could also assume a lacuna, such as 'but it survived' down to Phokas. Or we could say that after Phokas the μῶμον no longer existed, since his punishment was 'justified'. I cannot come up with a coherent explanation. Yet it is clear that the bull and the oven are thought to be identical.

(49.7f.)
After the burning of this Phokas the bull was melted down by Herakleios ...

It is not actually said but probably still implied that Phokas had been burned inside the bull and that this was the reason why it was finally melted down. [12] For the dating of the story it is significant that it appeared some time after the death of Phokas, when there were no eyewitnesses left to contradict it. This leads us to the end of the seventh century. The sentence implies that Phokas was the last (and worst) man burnt here. The bull was therefore no longer needed and could be melted down.

(49.8–10)
... into a σκουλκαταμεῖον[44] and reached the Pontos because of a recruitment drive (the σκουλκάτον[45] was in fact in Pontos).

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[44] Preger's conjecture from ἀκουλκαταμίον.
[45] Preger's conjecture from κουλκάτον (for [σ]κοῦλκα with reference to φόσσα and φοσσάτον, however with doubts whether σκουλκάτον is the same as σκοῦλκα).

Even if Preger has restored the text correctly with his conjectures, he appears to be on the brink of a misinterpretation of the passage, since he translates εἰς σκουλκαταμεῖον as 'in aerario excubiarum'. It then turns into the treasury of the *exkubitores*, about which I will say more below.

Yet actually εἰς σκουλκαταμεῖον does not designate the place in which the bull was melted down.[46] Instead it designates the result of smelting: the bull is now a σκουλκαταμεῖον, whatever that is.[47] The prototype of the *Anon. Treu* and of the *Patria* already assumed that it does have something to do with money (see p. 240). But this does not mean that the bull was quite simply melted down into coin. The smelting took place 'because of coins' and this seems, as noted, to have been used for want of a better formulation since the prototype, that is, the dossier, was hard to decipher.

For the time being I leave open the question of what σκουλκαταμεῖον means and also what the σκουλκάτον in the Pontos region could have been. For the moment I likewise pass over the 24 pieces of silver and proceed to interpret the last sentence of the note: [13]

(49.11f.)
This (the σκουλκαταμεῖον) has also been preserved here for those who like to look at (τοῖς ὁρῶσιν εἰς) grim-looking cast busts.

This text is corrupt because of the καί at the beginning[48] and requires something like ὅπερ καὶ ἐνταῦθα σώζεται. Or we may explain the text by assuming a lacuna: Ὅπερ (only as an example of a restoration; translate, 'after the Persian war returned to Constantinople and the "Bous" square') καὶ ἐνταῦθα σώζεται ... It is important that the σκουλκαταμεῖον is indicated, not the bull, which was no longer there.[49] On the other hand, this σκουλκαταμεῖον is 'here' (ἐνθάδε), which means right where the Βοῦς had earlier been.

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[46]   This would have to be εἰς τὸ σκουλκαταμεῖον. Cameron–Herrin, p. 117 translate 'for the treasury', which does not work.

[47]   Already correctly and fully appreciated by J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikon and Tagmata, c. 580–900*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 3 (Bonn, 1984), p. 627f., hereafter Haldon. He in fact believes that it was the store (i.e. the money) with which scouts (σκουλκάτορες) were attracted, probably by their confederates. See Haldon at pp. 436 n. 341 and 439 n. 344; see also n. 64 below.

[48]   An interpretation along the lines of 'here also' (and elsewhere) does not make sense, since there was only one σκουλκαταμεῖον (, ὅπερ ...).

[49]   Are all the seven wonders no longer in existence? I take it that the document Περὶ

The end of the sentence, on the other hand, is not corrupt[50]: the σκουλκαταμεῖον is preserved here for people who look at grim-looking busts[51]. Naturally this has nothing to do with coins,[52] which existed in this form only extremely rarely,[53] but it does mean (to use the style of the report about the seven wonders) that someone nowadays who goes to the 'Bous' square can no longer see the actual wonder, the bull, but probably sees, as a substitute, so to speak, the σκουλκαταμεῖον, when he goes looking for grim-looking cast busts; or when he looks at such busts, he finds the σκουλκαταμεῖον.

But all this suggests a solution that I of course only propose as [14] an hypothesis.[54]

First, a general comment regarding this hypothesis: the bull could obviously turn into a legend – therefore into a 'wonder', a repeat of the bull of Phalaris, a θέαμα in the sense of a θαῦμα – only after it was destroyed (e.g., melted down) and no longer existed.[55] Before that people would scarcely have described it with the attribute gigantic.[56] For the origin of the legend we arrive once again at the late seventh century, as we can at the very least say that it was

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θεαμάτων, which is incorporated into the *Parast.*, describes the seven wonders which Constantinople had earlier but which 'today' do no longer exist. Yet this is no place for me to offer an analysis of the relevant chapters; see n. 35 above.

[50] Even if the sentence sounds somewhat hapless.

[51] Or half-length portraits. For λαιμίον meaning 'bust' or 'half-length portrait' see *TLG* s.v. and more examples in Preger *ad loc.*, and also Kaegi, p. 91 n. 10 (though στρατολογῶ here means 'conduct a war'); the commentary of Cameron–Herrin says nothing.

[52] Cameron–Herrin (p. 117, commentary, p. 230), translate: 'for people to see, cast into (that would require χωνευτὸν εἰς) frowning imperial (which is not in the passage) portraits,' and add a note, 'i.e., in the form of coins.' And in the commentary: '*Par.* means that the coins struck from the bronze of the ox are still in circulation ... If true ... this would be interesting evidence for the length of time some coins remained current.' Thus one thing becomes another! Coins are also out of the question because here (and of course only here) people could see the λαιμία. This argument has nothing to do with the λαιμίον, especially on coins (Theod. Skoutariot., 149.18–22, ed. Sathas) and mosaics (Malal., 264.24f, Bonn); see the references quoted in n. 51.

[53] Grierson as in n. 6 above.

[54] And I would be grateful for evidence or, so long as there is no evidence, for a better hypothesis. But ... *de mortuis*.

[55] Strictly speaking, the legend is not proof that Herakleios had the bull melted down, nor even for it being reckoned to have been destroyed in Herakleios' time (for example, by collapsing during an earthquake).

[56] How big it became in people's imaginations, is of course a matter of speculation.

Herakleios who had it melted down, indeed, probably was forced to have it melted down, if we consider the matter in connection with the suppositions I proposed above, on p. 241. For after the burning of Phokas the bull had become superfluous. From then on, the reappearance of such a monster was considered impossible.

When it was originally erected, the bull naturally did not stand at ground level, but on a fairly high pedestal. That would be quite usual. But at the time when the legend started – and not much later was written down – the statue of the bull was no longer there. People still knew about the bull because they could still point to the pedestal on which it originally stood. This pedestal was therefore proof for the existence of the bull and since it was probably fairly big, also proof that the bull was the oven. At the same time, the base could serve as inspiration for later development of the legend. In regard to the legend, the unavoidable question was why the bull no longer stood there, and the legend provided an obvious answer: Herakleios had melted the bull down and had a σκουλκαταμεῖον made, something that people could still see today. This means that the still visible σκουλκαταμεῖον was cited as proof, indeed as the actual proof.

The upshot is that according to a psychological view of the origin of legends, the base and the σκουλκαταμεῖον must be identical. The following hypothesis thus recommends itself:

The pedestal, which has to be imagined as fairly big and tall, had on its upper border – surely far above eye level – a broader zone that was decorated with bronze reliefs. Underneath it was marble. From below people could recognize this decorated, rectangular upper zone as a box, [15] and so this zone became the σκουλκαταμεῖον of Herakleios with the grim-looking λαιμία[57], and thus also became the treasury of the σκοῦλκα of Herakleios. Treasury should not be taken to mean content, like money or coin, but a place of storage, like a treasure-chest or money-box.[58]

On this assumption one can now interpret the preceding sentences.

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[57] Bearing in mind the λαιμία one might imagine a decoration of garlands and medallions with portrait busts, which would date this relief to the late fourth/early fifth century.

[58] This meaning appears to me to be unsupported (actually ταμιεῖον is always a room where money is stored), but the linguistic environment is vulgar Greek and therefore one can compare the Modern Greek ταμεῖον with the meaning 'cash-box'. See also at n. 64 below.

(49.10f.)

(This treasure-chest[59]) had a value of 24 silver pieces, because it was cast.

If the text gives no further sign of corruption (and it seems to me there is no reason to make this assumption), we must understand it to mean that the legend does not require a more exact statement of value. The box is *very* valuable, with worth of 24[60] σταθμῶν τοῦ ἀργυρίου and that suffices. The legend can then give a reason for the high value of the box: it is cast. From this one must conclude that generally such treasure-chests were wooden, at most bound with bronze, but not solid cast metal. Obviously, one need not ask whether such a thing is actually possible. For this context, the legend needs no proof of its reality. The chest was still visible to everybody and that was reality enough.

(49.8f.)

This σκουλκαταμεῖον was brought into the Pontos region for the purpose of recruiting.

In the context of the legend, this, too, is perfectly clear: the chest was full of money and so Herakleios was able to enroll soldiers and defeat the Persians. People could see it was a big box and they all knew that the lengthy Persian war had been expensive. And they all could imagine that the box carried the entire gold and silver coinage that Herakleios had got by melting down church offerings. One should notice the logic of the legend: [16] the treasure-chest obtained from the bull now stands[61] exactly where the bull stood, which is of course on the pedestal.

Now for the last sentence.

(49.9f.)

The σκουλκάτον was in fact in the Pontos region.

The word σκοῦλκα means 'watch, outpost, spy' but these meanings are irrelevant. Probably since Preger translated σκουλκαταμεῖον as *aerarium excubiarum* and since at an earlier time the *exkubitores* also had been involved in recruiting, Kaegi refers to the treasury (meaning the money, the financial

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[59] A similar conjecture already by Preger: ὑπῆρχε δὲ τὸ θέαμα σταθμῶν ...
[60] This is the number of carats in pure gold.
[61] Cf. the lacuna on p. 242 above and n. 48.

resources) of the *exkubitores*, although there is no evidence for such a thing.[62]
But apart from the fact that a σκοῦλκα has nothing to do with the *exkubitores*
institutionally speaking[63] (and consequently the unproved σκουλκάτον has
nothing to do with them, either), the entire war chest that Herakleios took
against the Persians would have been located in the money box that then stood
on the pedestal, just as the legend *qua* legend would argue.[64]

So far, the legend is clear. Unclear to me is how in the language of
the *Parastaseis*,[65] which resembles popular usage, σκουλκαταμεῖον could
mean 'war chest' or σκουλκάτον could mean either 'army' or, if it is to be
distinguished from σκοῦλκα, could actually mean something like 'central
financial authority for the recruitment of troops'.

If the conjectures of Preger are right – and I cannot doubt them – there
remains only the solution I wish to put forward now, though for lack of
evidence I certainly cannot prove it. In the colloquial language of the time
around 700 σκοῦλκα actually meant something like 'army' or 'troops' and that
σκουλκαταμεῖον would have to be the war chest. At least this way the legend
would make perfect sense.

One more problem remains. In the paraphrase of the text above, I have
hinted that people often have the impression that other texts regard the base
itself as the oven.[66] (These other texts that I refer to are copies of the text of
the dossier from the time of the Byzantine renaissance). By the same token, one
could [17] explain κεφαλήν,[67] the misreading in the prototype of the *Anon.
Treu* and of the *Patria*, by saying that it mistook one of the reliefs on the base
for a bull's head. Yet I think this unnecessary. The variants that indicate such
possibilities are explainable as misreadings made for other reasons. Besides,
it is completely unknown whether the base still stood in the ninth or tenth
century, when the document about the seven wonders was discovered and
copied. Unknown and, it should be added, as an assumption not at all
justifiable.

The legend is of little historical importance contrary to what one might well

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[62]   See Kaegi, p. 93.

[63]   Nothing needs to be added to the arguments of Haldon, p. 627.

[64]   Hence other interpretations, like that of Haldon at n. 47 above, seem to me beside the
point.

[65]   See n. 58 above.

[66]   See p. 236f. above.

[67]   See p. 239 above.

wish.[68] And yet analysis of it reveals much, not only for the thought and work of the Byzantine renaissance, which was interested in everything, collected everything, and sought to preserve whatever could provide information about their own history and strengthen their own idea of themselves,[69] but also for the mentality in Byzantium at a time when without knowing it, of course, people had reached the nadir of the Dark Ages. At such a time people plainly need heroes and wonderful things in order to deal with their individual needs: Herakleios is such a hero. The defeat at the hands of the Arabs was not chalked up against him, for earlier he was the great victor against the Persians and the fulfiller of the historical necessity that the good ruler has endured and can endure against the bad. Hence, after Phokas, the bull was no longer needed as an oven. It turned into a container for war moneys and returned to the old square, after Herakleios has celebrated his victory with its help. Such miracles, such sights we had and have in Constantinople![70]

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[68] So scholars should not attempt to verify the phrase 'Pontos region' by comparison with other sources and therefore try to prove, if only indirectly, that the legend offers correct 'historical' information. See Kaegi, for example, p. 93 with n. 15. That the army moved on from the Pontos region to Persia is banal information indeed.

[69] More on this in *Dossier* and 'Μεχλεμπέ'.

[70] On this idea see Berger, p. 154f.

Phokas' Raising on the Shield

Die Schilderhebung des Phokas

[157] When considering the sources for Phokas being raised on a shield, it seems at first glance as if there are two opposing groups: Theophylaktos Simokates and Theophanes, who place this shield-raising by the Danube,[1] and John of Antioch according to whom the shield-raising took place on the Hebdomon:

προσερρύησαν οὖν καὶ τὰ β' μέρη, Πράσινοι καὶ Βενετοί, καὶ πάντες, καὶ ἀνήγαγον τὸν Φωκᾶν εἰς σκουτάριν ἐν τῷ τριβουναλίῳ τοῦ κάμπου καὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.[2]

To other inconsistencies in this latter source,[3] the following can be added:[4] ἀνάγω does not fit at all as a verb describing a shield-raising. However, it makes good sense in connection with the Tribunal of the Kampos. So (with the

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[1] This is probably the historically accurate version: the rebel soldiers first recognized Phokas as their commander-in-chief and in a second phase raise him on a shield. They demonstrated therefore that by these means their part of the imperial ceremony, i.e., the military part, was already completed and that Phokas would be emperor as they wished. Indeed, the military did not play any further role in Phokas' coronation outside Constantinople. Before the gates of Constantinople only the 'remaining part' was performed! Cf. the author's detailed documentation in *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), pp. 347–49. Theophyl. Sim. assesses this shield-raising and the connected acclamation as ἐκτόπως (8.7.7, 8.296.13f, [de Boor]: ἐπὶ ἀσπίδος τε ὕψος ἐξάραντες εὐφήμουν ἐκτόπως τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν). This is exactly the reason why Herakleios, who had to distance himself from the 'usurper and murderer' Phokas, did forgo being raised on a shield, and thus it fell into disuse for centuries.

[2] Fr. 218d(4) in C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum V* (Paris, 1878), p. 36.

[3] Especially striking is that according to this source the 'demes and 'all" (but not the army!) are said to have carried out the shield-raising. This alone contradicts everything we know about shield-raising and suffices to reject this source in its existing form, cf. also *Konstantin VI.*, p. 770 n. 175h.

[4] I had not yet detected this in *Konstantin VI.* and so could not elaborate on it.

deletion of εἰς σκουτάριν), the Greens and the Blues and all (= the people who were there) conducted Phokas onto[5] the Tribunal and proclaimed him emperor (on this higher situated location!). This is a beautiful, meaningful text. εἰς σκουτάριν is therefore only a gloss inserted into the text by someone who missed a shield-raising in the Hebdomon and only found one by the Danube, and, therefore, 'moved' the event into the Hebdomon; or he had such a garbled text that [158] he did not know where the shield-raising belonged.[6]

Be that as it may: Phokas was only raised on a shield by the Danube at the very beginning of the rebellion and hailed as emperor by the troops. Even John of Antioch does not contradict this.

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[5]   In the language of John of Antioch ἐν is not striking. It might also have been changed only secondarily, after εἰς σκουτάριν had entered into the text. Most likely, though, this ἐν has prevented the corruption from being recognized sooner!

[6]   See the author's *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn, 1988) index s.v. 'John von Antiocheia', concerning the fragments and their condition in the course of transmission.

Marginalia to Corippus' Poem
In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris[1]

Marginalien zu dem Gedicht *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*
des Corippus

[82] After already having expressed my opinions about the poem *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris* (hereafter *LI*) on two occasions,[2] a third one has now arisen as a result of a seminar on this epic. In a renewed study of the text – mainly the first two books – and above all thanks to the intensive critical collaboration of the members of the seminar, it has become clear that numerous problems in the text remained unresolved, indeed had not yet been clearly recognised.

In this regard some of the results of the seminar are very significant and are to be published here.

The most important result may be put as follows: the text of *LI* is corrupt to a greater degree than has formerly been assumed.[3] A preliminary word on this:

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[1]   This essay arose from the joint work of members of the Byzantinisches Seminar at the Freie Universität Berlin. In the seminar of the summer semester 1988 there took part not only by being present: Katarina Belovuković, Pantelis Carelos, Claudia Ludwig, Eckart Neumeister, Juan Signes Codoñer, Beate Zielke. Ms. Ludwig and Mr. Signes merit special thanks also for their critical additions when reading the proofs.

[2]   P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), esp. pp. 342–46, (hereafter *Konstantin VI.)* and 'Rezension zu Antès,' (as below n. 3) *Gnomon* 55 (1983), pp. 500–507, hereafter *Rez.*

[3]   The following commentaries are cited below:

Antès: *Corippe (Flavius Cresconius Corippus), Éloge de l'empereur Justin II*, ed. and tr. S. Antès (Paris, 1981).

Cameron: *Flavius Cresconius Corippus. In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri IV*, ed. and tr. Av. Cameron (London, 1976).

Ramírez: *Flavio Cresconio Coripo. El Panegírico de Justino II*, ed. and tr. A. Ramírez de Verger (Salamanca, 1985).

Stache: *Flavius Cresconius Corippus. In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* (Berlin, 1976), ed. U.J. Stache.

Composed in 566/67 in Constantinople for a Latin-speaking and Latin-educated public,[4] only one [83] manuscript of the poem certainly reached the West, to Spain,[5] – possibly via North Africa, home of Corippus,[6] – and was copied there in the 10th century.[7] Manuscripts by late antique authors, especially, were in very poor condition at the time when they were copied in the early Middle Ages,[8] so that copyists who were more or less badly skilled faced a difficult task in constructing what they believed to be a legible text or, more modestly, to salvage from the text what there was to salvage.[9] Though this is a

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The entire literature has been included in these commentaries. – Much of what today seems quite simple would be difficult without the older preparatory work of A. Alföldi and A. Cameron, which will not be cited in the following.

[4]   Cf. Stache, p. 17 and *Rez.* p. 503f.

[5]   This is the manuscript which Julian of Toledo saw (Antès, p. lxxxvi.) and later was listed in the Catalogue notice of Oviedo (see note below).

[6]   Besides the route normally assumed (e.g., Stache, pp. 25–30, Antès, p. lxxxvif.), which would take the text straight to Spain, which was then still oriented towards Constantinople, it should not be excluded that this codex was first brought to Africa, Corippus' home, and after the Arab conquest it was brought to Spain, maybe even via Rome. In 'Relaciones de Africa e Hispania en la Antiguedad Tardia', *Centro ricerche e documentazione sull' antichità classica, Atti* 9 (1978/9)], pp. 41–62, esp. 43, 55, 58, J. Gill suspects the arrival of North African manuscripts in Visigothic Spain, e.g., in the hands of refugees from the Berbers at the end of the seventh century.

[7]   The surviving manuscript, Matritensis 10029, is a copy of this (late antique) exemplar. In our view, which must be thoroughly tested again, all the readings of the second hand of M (M^2), result from the effort made by a corrector of scribe (M^1) to reread and understand the hard-to-decipher passages in the exemplar. So it makes no difference that he did not often succeed (Antès, p. xciii n. 1). It is unnecessary to assume that there was a second prototype for M, as Antès suggests in his stemma after p. cxi, as also Ramírez' stemma, p. 52. On the transmission of the text in general, see the most recent survey in H. Hofmann, 'Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der nichtchristlichen Epik', *Philologus* 132 (1988), pp. 101–59, at 112f.

[8]   For Greek texts, cf. for example, my 'Die Überlieferung des *Bellum Avaricum* und der Kater Μεχλεμπέ', *Varia* II=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 371–402, on George of Pisidia and the *Chronicon Paschale*, as well as *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn, 1988) (originals of Theophanes and Nikephoros).

[9]   It is frequently unclear whether copyists somehow marked passages that were unreadable in their exemplars, and which they then omitted. The lacunae that are present in the text today would then in the course of the medieval transmission, when these markings were lost, quite simply be incomprehensible. While one can assume such marks for

truism, scholars nevertheless tend to ascribe peculiarities in Corippus' text to the author more readily than to this lapse in transmission.

A sure indication of the poor condition of M's prototype emerges from the catalogue notice of Oviedo[10]: it actually mentions the *Panegyricus* for Anastasius *after LI*.[11] In this manuscript we thus have the sequence: *LI*, *Panegyricus Anastasii*. In M, however, the sequence is as follows:[12] [84] after the *prefatio*, which is garbled at the beginning (just 48 verses), there follows the *Panegyricus Anastasii* (title and 51 verses), and then the four books of *LI* (mutilated at the end).

The explanation is obvious. When the note in the Oviedo catalogue was written, the manuscript, later the exemplar for M, still had the works in the right order, although it is not possible to say whether the binding already had some loose leaves at the beginning and the end. But when M was being copied, not only were leaves lost at the beginning and the end, but even the (loose) leaf with the panegyric found a place between what remained of the *prefatio* and the actual work. Therefore, it can be concluded that this remainder of the preface probably amounted to a leaf.[13] Since this remainder today begins in the middle of a verse (... *deus omnia regna*), one is justified in concluding that the beginning of this leaf was no longer readable and that a small but indefinite number of verses was not copied. This is consistent with the fact that the *Panegyricus* fits on one leaf, being title and 51 verses, so more than the *praefatio* (48 verses) contains.

Why the *Panegyricus* was placed here can no longer be ascertained. It might have been sheer thoughtlessness, but it could also have had the following reason: the copyist (or someone who put the codex 'in order' before him) might have learned from the *periochae*, at the start,[14] that the loose *praefatio* (with Avars etc. – see Perioche 2) belonged to the beginning of the work. Probably,

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Nikephoros, for example (cf. *Das geteilte Dossier*, Index s.v. 'Verweiszeichen'), the copyist of M has not done this, if this manuscript is actually directly copied from the late antique exemplar.

[10] See for example, Antès, p. lxxxvii, n. 4.

[11] This coincides completely with the dating of the *Panegyricus*; it was certainly composed after *LI*, cf. *Rez.*, p. 501f.; so already Stache (with different arguments), p. 45.

[12] For detailed proof I refer to the editions.

[13] Antès, p. xciiif., sought to use other criteria to establish the extent of the parts of *LI* lost through lacunae.

[14] Clearly arranged in Cameron, pp. 27–32; see also Antès, pp. 1–9.

he could then not decipher the two initial *periochae* of the first book before the text – here again one can infer the poor condition of the prototype – and quite thoughtlessly and naively he put the loose leaf containing the *Panegyricus* in place of the text of these *periochae*, therefore before Book I, although he could have reconstructed the undecipherable first and second *periochae* of the first book from the *periochae* next to the text and should have realized that the *Panegyricus* did not belong there where he had placed it.*

Notes on Individual Passages

I.8f.: Vigilantia (as *mater* of everthing[15]) and Sophia (=wisdom of Christ![16]) are [85] of course personifications of abstract ideas[17] that bear the title *divae*, which incidentally – (!; this is the poet's intention! there is no irony!) – are called mother and wife. Anything else before the mention of Mary in v. 12 would be sheer blasphemy.[18] That, however, would not have been Corippus' intention.

I.35: Mary has neither red nor shiny nor any coloured hair[19] (the colour of which would in any case be invisible under the shawl [!]), but she is wearing a purple shawl here thanks to an *enallage adjectivi,* as had long been customary

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[15] This allegory – vigilance as basic principle of everything – appears to be unprecedented. Even if Corippus made it up ad hoc, it is just an allegory and not a reference to the emperor's mother.

[16] The Σοφία of the 'Αγία Σοφία is first the wisdom of the emperor and then, of course, and in particular the wisdom of Christ, cf. P. Speck, 'Die Beiträge stehen zur weiteren klärenden Diskussion', *Rechtshist. Journal* 3 (1984), pp. 24–35, at 28–30. The two levels of meaning are also present in the passage: *summa regens protegis orbem*. It makes no difference whether *summa* is nom. sing. or neuter acc. pl.; Stache dealt with this issue. It is not possible to apply this exclusively to the wife of Justinian: Sophia achieves a great deal, but not that! [85] Cameron partially notices this as well, but speaks of an ambiguity: 'Here *quae protegis orbem* suggests Holy Wisdom'. However, this must be interpreted in the contrary sense, as we will shortly explain.

[17] So correctly R. Helm, 'Heidnisches und Christliches bei spätlateinischen Dichtern', in *Natalicium Geffcken* (Heidelberg, 1931), pp. 1–46, at 27. We are indebted to Stache at I.8 for this reference.

[18] Cameron calls the connecting of both women with Mary 'a bold stroke'; that would be true, but as has been said, these are allegories of important qualities of rulership.

[19] See the various commentaries.

in depictions of Mary. Therefore, it is certain that despite the doubts that are occasionally expressed, Mary is meant,[20] just as the *perioche* says, and in the form of a Pietas.[21]

II.104–13: *resonant* in verses 104, the transposition of verses 107f., after verse 110, and to *regum cruor* in verse 112 – this passage contains a more extensive corruption than has hitherto been believed.

Firstly, *resonant* is really impossible;[22] and not supported by any interpretations,[23] because the emperor is still getting dressed (*inducitur* in verse 100 and *induxit* in the next line) and is not wearing anything yet. Therefore, verse 104 must contain the information that the emperor put on the purple shoes, and then (105) the laces were tied around his calves. It seems possible that in addition to the corruption of verse 104 one or more verses are missing, for the following reasons.

Those who defend the transposition of verses 107f. are certainly right when they say that one does not step on the necks of conquered tyrants and barbarians with laces (*vinclis*, verse 105) but with shoes.[24] But is it really with these holy soles of the feet (verse 110), for which the shoes were made from especially selected leather and which are *tactu mollissima*, that one steps on the neck of the conquered? This is at least a rather strange image which would be very unusual for Corippus.

Instead of a transposition the solution could also be a lacuna after (or both before and after) verse 106:[25] these are the emperor's shoes, [86] made of

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[20]   Thus also Cameron.

[21]   As already stated by T. Nissen, 'Historisches Epos und Panegyrikos in der Spätantike', *Hermes* 75 (1940), pp. 298–325, at 299 n. 2. Again only Stache refers to this work.

[22]   Thus Cameron.

[23]   Antès p. 37 n. 1 detects a hyperbole which he translates experimentally as: 'Ses mollets font entendre l'écho de l'étincelant cothurne purpurin.'

[24]   See for example Cameron and Stache.

[25]   Verse 106, ([*vinclis*,] *Parthica Campano quae dederant tergora fuco*) is incomprehensible: '... which, (let us assume: shoes) the Parthian leather has given to the Campanian dyer'. This is not syntax that would correspond to Corippus' especially since the sentence strictly speaking refers only to the laces. Only the allegory is clear: leather won in Persia (! – that is the main enemy!) is turned into purple shoes for the emperor in Italy (and in fact in the actual homeland of the Romans! – One ought not to look for a dying industry because of this passage!). Only Romans could make imperial shoes at the expense of conquered peoples, and emperors could only be Romans.**

leather booty, but which was dyed purple in Campania. These are the shoes with which the emperor steps on the necks of the defeated tyrants and barbarians.[26]

Verses 110f. are explained in verses 112f. by the fact that every mysterium (here, that the emperor alone was allowed to wear such shoes: *hoc cultu*[27] *conpetit uti*) has a clearly specified, rational reason (*certa rerum ratione probatur*). This reason is that now 'under their feet is royal blood' (verse 112 *sub quorum est pedibus regum cruor*), and it is evidently blood that has been shed (*cruor!*). That would mean that (only!) the emperor (during or after a battle?) waded through the blood of (defeated and wounded) kings and this was the justification for their purple shoes.

Even disregarding the fact that the previously mentioned blood-colour of the shoes contributes to the blood imagery (see verse 109, *sanguineis praelata rosis*) the metaphor seems a complete failure and can in principle be rejected, because the emperor hardly obtained his legitimation from outsiders (i.e., from other kings, even if they were defeated). Furthermore, it is necessary to show and even justify why the metaphor is so distorted and incomprehensible, since Corippus usually presents such picture more elaborately and more clearly.

Defending the transposition one must assume that royal blood has been shed from the veins of the conquered opponents[28] (during the *calcatio*?!) (indeed blood of tyrants and barbarians?); those who do not accept the transposition translate as though there was no problem,[29] but they too suggest indirectly that kings' blood has been shed, although there is no mention of a war and *calcatio* as a possible source of blood comes too long before.

Concluding from verse 109 (they surpass the blood-colour of roses) that the privilege of wearing purple shoes in fact belonged to those of royal blood,[30] one must ask whether this blood is 'under their feet' or rather 'in these' (or better yet 'in their veins'). Of course, [87] *cruor* then is either wrong or a *hapax* with

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[26]   Understand: internal and external enemies. An entirely commonplace thought put in a commonplace formulation! See n. 28 below, why it is nonetheless important to emphasize this banality.

[27]   This does not mean the *calcatio* but the purple colour and the special quality of the shoes of verses 109f. This is another indication that the transposition of verses 107f. is mistaken.

[28]   For who these are, see n. 26.

[29]   E.g., Antès: 'car sous leurs pieds il y a le sang des rois'.

[30]   'Royal' refering to the emperor, as at verse 105: *crura ... regia*.

the meaning *sanguis*.[31] We cannot offer a solution[32] and we do not want to rule out that the corruption reaches further. In any case, verses 109–113 are closely linked.

Despite many corruptions, verses 104–13 together comprise a closely connected unity, the structure of which is still clearly visible. Purple shoes are put on the emperor; they are made of booty (certainly first-class) leather, manufactured on native Roman soil (and therefore embodying Roman rule). With these shoes the emperor executes his triumph over internal and external enemies, his *calcatio*. Furthermore, these shoes are purple (verse 109) and very soft, designed for his holy feet, and a privilege for the emperor alone. This too, however, can be explained, for in their veins flows royal blood.[33]

Even if we cannot eliminate the corruptions in these verses, it seems important for the interpretation of the ceremonial, too, that they are at least detected. Again, the prototype of M appears to have been barely readable.

II.149f: In the poem's symbolism, the raising of the shield at the moment of sunrise[34] has replaced the coronation at sunrise.[35]

II.185–90: We mention these verses only because in this section too lacunae and corruptions have accumulated as is clear from the editions.

II.278–306: The entry into the hippodrome again offers numerous problems, but they can nevertheless be brought closer to a solution.

First, at verses 279 and 304 *laetos populos* is surprising. Such a repetition after a relatively short space arouses suspicion.

At verse 278 M has *Protinus in magni iussit fastigia circi*. The text is

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[31]   Stache also interprets *cruor* as a *hapax* of *vita* and apparently takes the verse to mean 'under their feet (i.e., in their power) is the life of kings'. The reason for the colour of the shoes would then be due to *cruor*. However, this interpretation is not obvious 'in a flash', which is usually the case in Corippus.

[32]   Even if one took *cruor* to mean *sanguis*, a conjecture such as *in ... venis* would be too clumsy and could not explain the corruption *sub ... pedibus*.

[33]   Assuming that this interpretation is correct, the propaganda is notable as well: because of the generalization, Justin, too, has royal blood. He is so to speak a descendant of Justinian and certainly his legitimate successor. Proving the latter point is the chief purpose of *LI*. Cf. *Konstantin VI*.

[34]   This is to be taken very concretely.

[35]   Cf. Konstantin VI., pp. 86f. and 761 n. 156. For the reasons, see ibid., p. 435 with n. 163.

fine and needs no conjecture,[36] however, a lacuna must be assumed to follow afterwards. The emperor himself never goes in *magni … fastigia circi*,[37] but the people do. First, the emperor gives the command that the people, who had already set out for the hippodrome a long time before,[38] [88] summoned by Fama, be allowed into the wide stands there.[39]

Verses 279f. (down to *pietate sui*) could be part of the command to open the hippodrome. Afterwards, however, another lacuna appears, which should be considered longer not only because of the repetition of *laetos populos*. Given the style of Corippus, the pouring of people into the hippodrome and even the entry of the demes is likely to be described at length and expanded with comparisons. What is actually missing, following the inner logic, is the emperor's order to the Senate to accompany him into the hippodrome and which it seems had a particular protocol: *Tunc ordine longo* (the rest of verse 280[40]).

Here one must suppose that the Senate accompanied the emperor from the palace to the hippodrome (verse 283, *fratris in obsequium*), but that the emperor then ascended into the κάθισμα with a small number of companions, while the senators entered the hippodrome underneath the κάθισμα[41] and took their places to the side of it and below it. The procession is thus described from the viewpoint of the demes, who sit opposite. Marcellus and Baduarius led the parade. The reason why they are mentioned and not the head kingmaker Kallinikos[42] seems to be simply that Kallinikos went up into the κάθισμα.

Ahead of this procession marched a *cursor* and gave signals for the people to be quiet. Then followed another signal,[43] the setting up of the lamp,[44] and the

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[36]   *Vasit* instead of *iussit* (Petschenig) is most often printed.

[37]   He goes into his box, as will be promptly explained.

[38]   I. 294–367. It gives a false impression, when, for example, Antès, p. cxv, writes that the people already 'se rassemble au cirque'.

[39]   This is of course propaganda. In fact, they were ordered into the hippodrome after the completion of the coronation.

[40]   One could also suppose that *eloquii pietate sui* has nothing to do with him, although these words appear to fit well with the preceding verse, and that the lacuna is to be located between verses 279 and 280.

[41]   On this route, see A. Berger, 'Die Altstadt von Byzanz in der vorjustinianischen Zeit', *Varia* II=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 7–30, at 18 and 20 (cross-street 2).

[42]   Cf. his significance in Bk. I.

[43]   Corippus skillfully links the two signals (although the one of the *cursor* in fact belongs before the Senate's procession) in order to pass from the first to the more important second one.

[44]   M[2] *lucerna* is to be read. The *lacerna* of M[1] creates the nonsense that the people first

whole hippodrome resounded with an expectant murmur. Everyone looked up and wanted to see the emperor (verses 295–98). Corippus depicts this scene in great detail and very vividly.

Verses 299f.: *Egreditur cum luce sua frontemque serenam / armavit sancti faciens signacula ligni.* While the emperor at II.176 formally blesses those present,[45] [89] he would have to bless himself here (*frontem armavit*), and several times (*signacula*), and all this as his first act in front of the people.

Again, only assuming a lacuna helps. The emperor appears (*egreditur*), shining in his own brilliant light (*cum luce sua*),[46] and (with reference made to) his noble brow (decorated with the diadem). Because of the lacuna we do not know what the emperor did next, and above all we do not know which objects he now *armavit* by blessing them with the sign of the cross.

In the next verse (301) the emperor first greets the people (*salutato vulgo*). This probably again happened with the sign of the cross as at II.176, but Corippus does not wish to repeat himself. Then *tetigit subsellia* becomes a problem. Perhaps: he (has entered his box from the side and) now passes the (little) row of seats in the box (until he comes to his throne, which is slightly elevated, and sits down). The text may not be correct, though.

Certainly not all problems in the passage are solved with this interpretation,[47] but because of the lacunae there is probably enough space between the two repetitions of *laetos populos* and the overall understanding of the passage and the ceremony has improved.

II.307–30: Some problems concerning the demes' performance before the emperor's address also become clearer.

Everything has so far happened calmly and in silence. Only after the emperor has sat down (and again turned his face to the public) does cheering erupt (verses 306–308).

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remove their coats and then begin to murmur without having received a signal about what is going to happen. But that a *cursor*, who runs out in front (*ante*), gives the signal for the appearance of the emperor in the κάθισμα, is also nonsensical.

[45]   As Stache rightly assumes with the gathered up garment, the ῥωσθέλιον.

[46]   This also confirms the lacuna along with the proposed supplement: the emperor shines on his own and wears on his brow an (even brighter) diadem (with a centrally placed gem?).

[47]   See verse 306, where *censuram servans* and *et plebi gaudia donans* are both still obscure and probably indicate some corruption.

The use of *plebes* in the plural at verse 308 may well indicate that the people did not follow the lead of the two demes in giving acclamation, but rather that at first the masses call out spontaneously and unsolicited (verses 309, *centenis vocibus*). And soon the people run out of ideas. Then the demes impress with an antiphonal song (verse 310: *partes*). Whether something is missing here is not clear. In any case, the interpretation is affirmed by the following.

After the demes have given their antiphonal acclamation (verse 310, *reclamant*), the people (verse 313, *agmina*) respond with an antiphonal song as well (ibid., *alternis dictis sibi respondent*). This probably means that the masses now joined in the chorus of the demes. Verse 312 is difficult, since it describes the transition: *Excutiunt plausus, studiorum gaudia surgunt.*

Since the subject before was the demes, one might assume that the demes now spur on the people or urge them on. Then, however, *excutiunt* [90] *plausus* can scarcely mean 'they applaud',[48] but rather 'they cause applause', if *excutiunt* can be kept at all.[49]

For *studiorum gaudia surgunt* there is the same need for a transition from the demes to the people. If the sentence is taken literally, it is hardly clear whether the joy of the demes results from their own eagerness, their own performances[50] or whether it is that the people's joy arises from the demes' performances. If so, one might think that precision is avoided on purpose and that the whole sentence should generally mean: joy arises (for everyone through their own and others'!) efforts, or maybe even: Everyone works themselves up in their eagerness. But then *surgunt* would not be very suitable.[51] A satisfactory interpretation of the verse has still to be found. The transition to the people in the hippodrome is clear, however, for now (verse 314) they all

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[48]   The demes applaud themselves? Antès interprets impersonally: there is applause. But this is also too harsh because of the assumed change of subject.

[49]   *Excutiunt* would then have the same meaning as *excitant*. Although (compare Stache at this point) one can correct *excutit* in John 6.526 (*dolor excutit iras*) to *excitat*, here however *excitant* is metrically impossible. Maybe this is reason for assuming an ongoing corruption, something on the lines of *exoritur plausus*; if so, *excutiunt* is admittedly the *lectio difficilior*.

[50]   According to Stache and Antès, the joy of the demes arises, with *studia* taken as an *abstractum pro concreto* to mean 'demes'.

[51]   Something like *crescunt* would seem appropriate instead. *Surgunt* would be impossible if a conjecture for the first half of the verse along the lines of n. 49 above were necessary.

raise their right hand and lower it again. All through the circus (verse 315) people shine[52] in effort (to surpass one another).

The metaphor that follows is firstly very brief (just one verse, 316) and also contains a problem. The movements of the crowd (as they raise and lower their arms) look like approaching dense waves; i.e., they do not move precisely, but like waves, and these waves now come with *manicis albentibus* – with white sleeves?[53] That is not only unartistic, but also wrong: the people look like waves with (e.g.) white crests,[54] maybe *cristis albentibus* or with something else that suits *undae*.[55] *Manicis*, however, is an interlinear gloss, which explains what causes this effect: the people's sleeves. *Manicis* being the original text is out of the question, even if, incidentally, it fits metrically.

There is still one more lacuna. If *disponunt cantus* (verse 317) only [91] means 'they assign songs' it is nothing other than what has already been stated in all the verses. That would be banal! The following *motum cantibus addunt*, does not simply mean 'they add movement',[56] but 'they also move', i.e., 'they dance'. To start with, the rest of the comparison with waves has been dropped between verses 316 and 317 (maybe *ut...undae, sic...*), and with it the announcement of the new element, the celebratory dance of the demes.[57] They descend to the arena, sing (again) in alternation and now add movements (dance movements). They extend their arms and withdraw them again (verse 318). – This is considered to be dance, because in an acclamation one only raised the right hand. In dance formations both arms are moved up and down and hands are seized. Next it says, *ardua dant capita*. This does not mean that they also raise their heads (straight up) (that would hardly be visible in the big circle of the hippodrome and it would not be attractive enough to be

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[52]   Despite Stache's commentary, *micat* (verse 315) sounds odd, but we cannot offer a solution.

[53]   Many translators act as though the text were: 'They come with white sleeves that are like rows of waves.' The text is, however, 'they come like rows of waves that have white sleeves' (as Cameron translates).

[54]   Cameron proposes this at verse 314 as an image, but she leaves the text unaltered.

[55]   D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 'Notes on Corippus' "Laudes Iustini"', in *Kontinuität und Wandel. Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U.J. Stache, W. Maatz, and F. Wagner (Hildesheim, 1986), pp. 315–19, at 317, proposes *umbrae*. But this does not solve our problem with *manicis*.

[56]   Honestly, what would that mean?

[57]   Cameron, too, thinks of dance in verses 317 and 318f., but does not touch the text.

mentioned[58]). Instead it means 'they perform difficult (*ardua*) figures'. Whether *capita dant* means something similar or is corrupt is secondary. The following verse makes clear that it actually is a group dance: *Accedunt pariter pariterque recedunt* (verse 319). One cannot say that the block of demes sit in their seats or stand and perhaps move on the spot. It makes only sense when formations dance. Therefore, what follows is also connected with dance: *fertque refertque globum moles condensa virorum* (verse 320), 'the close-packed mass of men move back and forth in their formation'. *Globum* is possibly corrupt.[59]

Independently from this, the festive, measured dances look like a forest that moves in the wind (verses 321–24).

II.355: *vestris adstate locis*, understand as: 'to your places for the ceremony, when I as consul drive by you'.

II.361: *interea* would mean, 'even while the applause for the promised consulate flares up, the seats have been vacated'. Even if everything was staged, (as in the sense: 'please bring the corresponding promissory notes!') it should hardly mean that now *all* the rows of the *whole* hippodrome are being emptied. Another lacuna might be placed here once more and with it the inexplicable *spoliant* could at least insofar be explained as something now being removed from the rows. Following this one might assume something like this perhaps: At a given command the people descend from all sides, crying (verse 362).

[92] This is only a small part of all the problems within the text of *LI* in the sections which we have examined. There is probably much more, but there are certainly Latinists who will carry on examining the text. In any case, we think it important to scrutinize and define difficulties and not to sweep them under the carpet.

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[58]   In addition, they would have to lower their heads in order to produce more than one simple, single movement.

[59]   If one wishes to find a reference to the comparison in verse 323, *flexis nutare comis*, the meaning would have to be: 'they bow while dancing'. Yet everything remains unclear. Conceivably there is a reference to banners that many dancers have; but we are not able to heal the text in this sense.

Addenda

* To p. 253: For a similar recent and at the same time farther-ranging explanation, see already H. Hoffman, review of Antès, *Mnemosyne* 40 (1987), pp. 209–19, at 212 f.

** Note 25: John Lydus is important for an interpretation of the passage: Whereas good purple (*De magistr.* 2,13; 68,19f., ed. Wünsch: ἡ βαθυτέρα βαφὴ τοῦ φοινικοῦ χρώματος) originally could only be made on Kos, Parthian leather is fire-red (not really purple, ibid. 23f., ὅθεν καὶ παρθικὰ τὰ φλογοβαφῆ δέρματα συμβαίνει καλεῖσθαι): In Corippus' opinion there was still need for the strong colour of the *fucus* which grows on the coasts of Campania. Whether the purple colour gives reason to put the (generally corrupt) verse 106 before or after verse 109 remains to be re-examined. Lacunae should be posited after verses 105 and 108, each with the unobjectionable meaning 'these are the emperor's shoes'.

How Stupid Must Zosimos Be?
Proposals for a New Assessment

Wie dumm darf Zosimos sein?
Vorschläge zu einer Neubewertung

[1] The reputation of the historian Zosimos is bad.[1] The most important of the many factors that contribute to this attitude appears to me to be that one has to regard Zosimos as rather limited, pig-headed and narrow-minded. This is because during a period of flourishing and even victorious Christianity[2] he undertook to glorify long-vanished paganism and blame the Christians for the decline of his beloved pagan empire. So much for intellectual clichés.

But as philological historians we do not have to adhere to the clichés. We can interpret and explain them so that very often they do not seem like clichés any more. Yet contradictions remain.

Everyone agrees Zosimos did not finish his *Historia*.[3] There is equal unanimity that Photios' statement that Zosimos did not write a history, but

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[1] See e.g., B. Paschoud, ed. *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle I* (Paris, 1971) p. lxvi (hereafter Paschoud). After recounting all the errors noticed earlier by L. Mendelssohn, ed. *Zosimi... Historia Nova* (Leipzig, 1887) (hereafter Mendelssohn), Paschoud goes further, 'Cette appréciation est plus incomplète que fausse'. For the same viewpoint, see Paschoud *RE* 10A (1972), cols 795–841, s.v. Zosimos 8, hereafter Paschoud *RE*, at 838: 'This judgement [by Mendelssohn] is not wrong, but incomplete', and ibid., 'His achievement as a historian is therefore very modest'. See also A. Demandt, *Der Fall Roms. Die Auflösung des römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt* (Munich, 1984), p. 15: '... we have for Rome's expansion a much more reliable informant in Polybios than in his imitator Zosimos for the disintegration of Rome.'

[2] Which makes us regard ourselves as so progressive, too – especially as we think and feel in a Protestant mode. The nineteenth century has influenced us in this respect, too.

[3] See Paschoud, p. xxi. The last pages of the incomplete work shows 'des signes évidents de rédaction hâtive et non définitive'; similarly, *RE*, 802: 'The sixth book, especially, offers clear indications of carelessness and incompleteness. Thus, probably because of the author's death, the work was not completed.'

rewrote Eunapios (Εἴποι δ' ἄν τις οὐ γράψαι αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταγράψαι τὴν Εὐναπίου),[4] is correct to the extent that Eunapios must have been Zosimos' chief source, at least for the time Eunapios wrote about.[5] After all, one of the most severe accusations against the quality of Zosimos' writing is that he *raconte deux fois les mêmes épisodes d'une manière un peu différente.*[6]

One might conclude from this that Eunapios too has similar meaningless repetitions – undoubtedly the same – and therefore has equally to be criticized. But since this is *a priori* unlikely – it would mean we have not one, [2] but two 'bad' historians – we should examine this question and first establish whether Photios' statement that Eunapios was Zosimos' 'main source' really holds up. Photios continues,[7] ... τῷ συντόμῳ μόνον διαφέρουσαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος τὸν Στελίχωνα διασύρει· τὰ δ' ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν σχεδόν τι ὁ αὐτός, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων διαβολαῖς.

This is first of all a statement concerned with content: Zosimos is briefer than Eunapios and has a better opinion of Stilicho. But he is identical in content (κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν σχεδόν τι ὁ αὐτός), particularly in calumniating pious emperors. This is polemical, possibly nothing more than polemical. Photios had introduced his notice on Zosimos with the words: Ἔστι τὴν θρησκείαν ἀσεβής, πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς ὑλακτῶν κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων. This is the heart of the matter, according to Photios: apart from Zosimos' having written about the same period, his attacks against the Christian emperors are equally as severe as those of Eunapios.[8] Generally speaking, he is as superfluously wordy too. The only difference, and at first glance even this is polemical, is that he is briefer. The apparently decisive statement, that Zosimos 'rewrote' Eunapios (μεταγράψαι τὴν Εὐναπίου) is reduced to the polemical

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[4]   *Biblioth. Codex 98*, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1960), vol. 2, p. 66 (hereafter Codex). See also Paschoud, p. x.

[5]   For discussion of the collected fragments, see Paschoud *RE*, 810f., where Zosimos' dependency is a matter of an 'ganz eindeutige Behauptung' of Photios. Similarly, A. Baldini, *Richerche sulla storia di Eunapio di Sardi. Problemi di storiografia tardopagana*, Studi di Storia Antica 10 (Bologna, 1984), p. 20 or 41 (hereafter Baldini).

[6]   Paschoud as in n. 1.

[7]   As above, n. 4.

[8]   As shown by *Codex 77*, ed. Henry, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 158–60, where all the accusations that Photios levels against Eunapios fit Zosimos.

claim that when it comes to besmirching Christian emperors, he differs only in style, so one might think[9] that he had in fact not written a history, just rewrote Eunapios.

Add to this the following observation: generally Photios structured his notices so that after a brief characterization of the author he adds a summary of the contents. In Zosimos' case the sentence quoted before (Εἴποι δ' ἄν τις οὐ γράψαι αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταγράψαι τὴν Εὐναπίου) replaces the summary of the contents. Therefore one should draw conclusions only about the identical content – especially the anti-Christian content – but not conclude that Photios said that Zosimos had used Eunapios as a source and merely rewrote him.

But in matters of style, Photios likes Zosimos, and right at the beginning goes on to say, σύντομος δὲ καὶ τὴν φράσιν εὐκρινής τε καὶ καθαρός, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἡδέος ἀπῳκισμένος. And at the end of the notice Photios states that Zosimos differs from Eunapios, but this time for the better: Σαφὴς δὲ μᾶλλον οὗτος καὶ συντομώτερος, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, τοῦ Εὐναπίου,[10] καὶ ταῖς τροπαῖς, εἰ μὴ σπάνιον, μὴ κεχρημένος.

The comparison of the two authors, which goes beyond establishing identical content, is to be extended to style too: Zosimos is, as has been said previously, more explicit and briefer than Eunapios. In addition, he uses only a few tropes, i.e. rhetorical figures. His brevity compared to Eunapios is achieved through a concise style that attaches great importance to σαφήνεια while rejecting the stylistic devices of rhetoric.[11] Therefore we are not forced [3] to conclude from what Photios says that Zosimos essentially plagiarizes Eunapios, but in a shorter and abridged manner. Zosimos' being briefer even when referring to the same historical period does not mean that he abridges Eunapios. In Photios' opinion this trait springs from Zosimos' writing in a different style.

Therefore it emerges that Photios does not stress the dependence of Zosimos on Eunapios. We in fact are saved from having to deal with 'two' incompetent

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[9]   Just as Photios stressed with his introductory Εἴποι δ' ἄν τις.

[10]   In *Codex 77* Eunapios comes off poorly; among other things, his style is characterized as ἀλεκτρυονῶδες.

[11]   As is indicated in comparisons of comparable passages, though these comparisons are only rarely possible. See Paschoud *RE*, 833, following Mendelssohn, and Baldini, pp. 43–74.

historians, and can thus ignore Eunapios as a source for the time being. This must no longer play a part in the analysis of the text.[12]

The incompleteness of Zosimos' historical work is most obvious, it is said, in the last chapters.[13] But the same phenomena occur through the entire work. To do Zosimos justice the entire work should be taken into account. Bearing this in mind, the conclusion emerges that a great many of the flaws attributed to Zosimos derive from the fact that the whole work was not available in a final edition. An example should clarify this.

After Constantine the Great became sole ruler, he met with opposition in Rome and therefore founded a new city as a counterbalance to Rome (II.30–31).[14] Chapter 31 ends with the remark that he built houses for the few senators who followed him and won no further wars. When the Traifali, a

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[12] I will show below that there is more to Photios' statement.

[13] See n. 3 above. It is assumed that an author first 'writes' then 'revises and publishes a final edition' and that Zosimos got farther in the first of these processes than the second, and so the inconsistencies occur at the end.

[14] It is striking how embarrassed Zosimos is when describing Constantinople. The reason is that he scarcely had any 'ancient', 'pagan' monuments as reference points for the walls, except for a remodelled Rhea and the profaned Dioscuri as well as the temple of Aphrodite. So to give references he names the square with the four columned halls, since this lets him bring in a 'temple', and Constantine's forum, without its columns. An inevitable result if everything 'Christian' is cast out. Even the new walls, which are generally described using monasteries as reference points, are located by reporting the distance to the old ones. All this typifies Zosimos' attitude. It thus proves that for him Constantinople is a 'Christian' foundation, if one does not want to abandon this tiresome debate (most recently in M. Dimaio Jr, J. Zeuge, and N. Zotov, 'Ambiguitas Constantiniana: The 'Caeleste Signum Dei' of Constantine the Great', *Byzantion* 58 [1988], pp. 333–60, at 353f.) and conceive Constantinople as a city of Constantine's, just as he saw himself as a Christian, even Christ-like emperor. See my 'Die Beiträge stehen zur weiteren klärenden Diskussion', *Rechtshist. Journal* 3 (1984), pp. 24–35, at 28–31. Naturally, Zosimos is not 'objective' but he does not want to be. Instead he wants to explain historical development. But we should still not scold him for being a incompetent historian for this reason. – I also wish to draw attention to a topographical detail. Since A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 8 (Bonn, 1987), p. 418, has quite correctly identified the μεγίστη ἀγορὰ τετράστοος with the Basilica, a small matter needs clarification. The stairway that led inside was on the side where Constantine built the two temples, or rather one, the later Milion (see below): κατὰ τὰς τῆς μιᾶς στοᾶς ἄκρας, εἰς ἥν ἀνάγουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοι βαθμοί, ναοὺς ᾠκοδομήσατο δύο. The stairway thus doubled as a stair between the Augusteon and the Basilica. Berger has already correctly seen that only one temple was built here. For the origin of the second, see p. 274 below.

Scythian people, came with 500 cavalry, he not only did not enter battle, but retreated[15] and lost the greater [4] part of his own forces and when he saw that everything as far back as his camp was destroyed, he readily took flight and was able to save himself.[16]

Chapter 32 then begins, 'He fought no wars, devoted himself to a life of luxury and granted the Byzantines the *panis publicus* which they received ever since. He gave public money for a great number of useless buildings; some that he built collapsed a short time later. Because they were built in haste, they were not sound. The remaining part of Chapter 32 and Chapter 33 consist of Zosimos' very critical remarks on a reform of the administration.

Chapter 34 is a negative commentary on Constantine's reform of border defenses. Finally, Chapter 35 begins with an (incorrect) description of the securing of the imperial succession (Καίσαρα δὲ καταστήσας ἤδη τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Κωνσταντῖνον, ἀποδείξας δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Κωνστάντιον καὶ Κώνσταντα παῖδας ὄντας αὐτῷ).[17] Zosimos then returns to the subject of Constantinople: 'He built Constantinople into a truly great city, so that most of his successors also resided there and attracted much too great a crowd of people who migrated there because of military service, trade, and other reasons. For this reason they surrounded the city with walls which were much bigger than those that Constantine had built[18] and they allowed the development to grow so that the inhabitants had no room either in their houses or on the street, and because of the mass of people and animals they could only move about with danger.[19] Yes, the sea had been drained, piles driven in circles,[20] and houses

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[15] My addition. The text is confused. Cf. Paschoud, p. 229 and for an explanation see p. 273 below.

[16] ... ἀγαπητῶς ἀποδρὰς διεσώθη. As scholars assume, the text is probably in large part corrupt. See n. 15 above.

[17] Cf. Paschoud, p. 236.

[18] In 412. See my 'Der Mauerbau in 60 Tagen. Zum Datum der Errichtung der Landmauer von Konstantinopel mit einem Anhang über die Datierung der *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*' in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstaninopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, Miscellanea Byzantina Monachensia 14 (Munich, 1973), pp. 135–78.

[19] An overlooked *terminus post quem*: this overpopulation in the city also resulted in Zeno's housing law. This could be more evidence that the *Historia* was intended to reach the time of Zeno (as Paschoud *RE*, 803). But for the life of me I do not understand why this criticism should be a Western polemical topic (Paschoud, p. 236f.) or why it is remarkable for an East Roman writer to criticize the growth of the city (ibid. *RE*, 805). The city was nevertheless built by Constantine.

[20] Probably not buildings on piles like those in Venice, even if the text of the following

erected on them[21] that already created a great city themselves.'

Again and again Constantinople and its founding: if one considers the founding alone and if one supposes that it was recounted this way in a final edition, the description is actually an embarrassment for the author. He writes like a second-grader writes his essays, associatively, piece by piece as the thoughts enter his mind, and it is up to the reader to put it into some kind of meaningful order.

But is this actually true? Has Zosimos really completed his work at this point, so that we can assume that this is the final edition? Or must we again turn to a solution that [5] in the past has often proven useful and adequate in the case of similar phenomena in other authors?[22]

I again would like to present my idea as a hypothesis, that what is available to us today as the text of Zosimos is not a final edition nor even a provisional edition of the work, but the 'dossier' of a historian who is still collecting and still organizing his material, and is always finding something further and adding it. His associative form of narration is then comprehensible. After all, he was not making a final edition for publication.

He probably wrote about the foundation of Constantinople using a source that was either 'dechristianized'[23] or that he 'dechristianized' himself.[24] Then he continued with his text, 'he conducted no more wars,' before introducing the episode of the Traifali, as a marginal note, to demonstrate it.[25] But the statement that he remained ἀπόλεμος is not a complete episode, just a transition to his

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note appears to suggest this. Instead piles in circular arrangement were extended into the sea along the edge of the drained land to prevent flooding.

[21] αὐτοῖς. which should perhaps mean 'on the piles.' But the passage is corrupt. See p. 274 below.

[22] Cf. my *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes and Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn, 1988), hereafter *Dossier*. As I will show in my monograph on Leo III, the *Liber Pontificalis* for the eighth century should also be viewed as a dossier.

[23] I will return below to further discussion of the sources, which are now viewed differently.

[24] See n. 14 above. The information about the extension of the city by piles was probably also 'dechristianized' or better 'deConstantinized', see n. 26 and p. 274 below.

[25] On p. 273f. below, I show that this is a marginal note. Apropos of this passage, one more example of scholarly evaluations of Zosimos. R. Ridley, *Zosimus' New History: A Translation with Commentary*, Byzantina Australiensia 2 (Canberra, 1982), p. 158 n. 74, comments on this passage that 'Zosimus is unfair to Constantine here!' And Ridley points out several successful wars. But of course that is not the point.

luxurious lifestyle and extravagance, which is revealed in the establishment of the *panis publicus*. Then comes his gross incompetence in matters of administration. His extravagance – and here too it is probably a matter of an associated marginal note, added on, that is, a source reference found later on – shows itself in the useless buildings which apart from anything else were so unstable that they collapsed. After depicting Constantine as an incompetent administrator, his complete inability as a military strategist is pointed out. Then comes a peculiar note about his securing the succession, which serves as an introduction to the remarks about the consequences of the building of Constantinople: the town became just too big, one cannot live in it anymore, building into the sea is an impertinence.[26]

If we take it that the notice about the succession was originally just a marginal note, this would place a gap before the rest – the report about the effects of the foundation of the city. In there must lie an explanation for the abrupt transition from the tale of Constantine's incompetence back to the story of Constantinople. This explanation, for reasons we cannot yet imagine,[27] must have not been copied or forgotten due to the insertion of marginal notes.

Be that as it may, the dossier postulated is therefore a collection [6] of texts, which were already placed one after the other in the first edition,[28] but were then enriched with further sources in the margins. All in all one can no longer talk about the 'chaotic' Zosimos. More details about the appearance of this dossier can probably be found. At the moment I will put the problem of the dossier to one side and follow up another question, also connected to the so-called 'poor quality' of Zosimos as a historian, and which with due consideration discloses that the capacity of Zosimos' mind could not have been so bad.

Chapters II. 36 and 37[29] from the continuation of the tale about the foundation of Constantinople serve as examples. Here Zosimos writes (in Chapter 36[30]) that he, bearing in mind Constantinople's wealth, has often wondered, why no corresponding oracle existed. However he was able to find

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[26]   This was probably a marginal note, too. It was surely meant to be negative even if the source was probably positive, see p. 274 below.

[27]   But which we will find: the explanation is the poor condition of the prototype of the medieval manuscript tradition, see below.

[28]   Quite likely a codex, not a roll. See n. 48 below.

[29]   Paschoud, pp. 108–11.

[30]   The connection with Chapter 35 is fine.

one after a lot of study and hard work: it is an oracle attributed to the Sibyl
of Erythrea or to Phaenno in Epirus, which has the reputation of making its
predictions while being possessed.[31] Nikomedes, son of Prousias, believed its
prediction and interpreted it in a supposedly positive sense and therefore, at
Attalos' advice, started a war against his father Prousias. The oracle however
was worded as follows.

At this point one already must begin to wonder: Zosimos quotes an oracle
that is supposed to predict the future of Constantinople or, to be more precise,
that had been given a long time ago and revealed the city's future long before
it had been founded. Regarding Nikomedes,[32] naming him can only have
one reason, namely that he took up arms against his father due to a false
interpretation of the oracle (which was actually related to Constantinople) and
that this effort was doomed or whatever, because he used the wrong oracle. The
language of the sentence has also been discussed and it has been declared an
accusativus pendens, depending on the unrelated λέγεται in parenthesis.[33]
Really? Or might the sentence be corrupt? Well, let's wait and see. But another
question arises here, how and in what condition did Zosimos' text reach the
Middle Ages and become the beginning of the known tradition of the *Historia*.

The following 21 hexameter oracle contains a lacuna in verse 13: it is
assumed that the beginning of the verse is missing. But that is not the only
possibility. Mendelssohn[34] already saw that two oracles had been combined,
the first about the Bithynians or also Byzantium, the second about God-knows-
what. The analysis with its many possibilities is not of interest here.

[7] One has to ask however, whether it is not possible that the lacuna might
be a lot longer and that, before the occurrence of the lacuna, the text about
the oracle might have been longer and more meaningful? But let us put this
question aside for the time being too. Because Zosimos goes really mad in what
follows:[35] he says in all seriousness that this long oracle, even if only in outline

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[31]   See the commentators. All this is not my subject here.

[32]   The commentators are not sure whether the first or the second is meant and differ
from one another on this point.

[33]   Pashoud, p. 237 f.

[34]   App. crit. to the first verse.

[35]   So even below the already low level of education in Late Antiquity, for which we,
however, are responsible as well when we keep asserting that Theodosios II enacted a law
concerning the university or that in 602 Phokas suspended the literary teaching posts
because of the pagan literature that was still strongly emphasized in the educational
program, or that Herakleios filled the posts with Christian rhetoricians. For all these

and in riddles, reveals all the evil that will happen to the Bithynians due to the great amount of taxes imposed on them and that power will be quickly transferred to those living in Byzantium. (In parenthesis: the reader will remember that he heaps abuse on Constantine's tax policies in the following chapter).

Whoever has seen a *chresmos*, even if only once, knows that every detail has its meaning and that one cannot just focus on two points. That the only content of the whole 21 verses is only the tax burden (solely?) put on the Bithynians and the resulting shift of power in favour of the city (ergo: political power is now in Constantinople) is in itself implausible. In addition to that Zosimos declares that he, after a long search, has found an oracle about the unprecedented and incomparable prosperity of Constantinople and not, as it says here, about the Bithynians, who lost their power to Constantinople. This is very strange. If Zosimos is as stupid as everybody assumes, why not believe him capable of this nonsense? But was he really that stupid?[36]

But let us first carry on reading the commentary to the oracle: The fact that the things predicted in the oracle happened long after the actual prediction, must lead nobody to the assumption that it means something else. Any length of time is short in the eye of the divine, because the divine lasts eternally (πᾶς γὰρ χρόνος τῷ θείῳ βραχὺς ἀεί τε ὄντι καὶ ἐσομένῳ).

Perhaps nobody has realised it so far: It is not Zosimos speaking, but a Christian disguised as Zosimos, a Christian pretending that Zosimos is writing. Here too I leave further analysis for later.

The commentary on the oracle continues: 'I have interpreted these things (ταῦτα – ergo: a few, some, many) from the oracle's words and from what happened (ταῦτα δὴ οὖν ἔκ τε τῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβάντων ἐτεκμηράμην)'. This indicates that Zosimos interpreted the oracle word for word. If just the taxes [8] and the transfer of power were the only results of this interpretation, this sentence would be ridiculous.

Now we have gathered enough material in order to interpret the facts set out

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matters, see A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diokletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3.6 (Munich, 1989), p. 367. Needless to say, this author is capable of exercising good judgement even if, as he says on p. vi, he could examine only a third of the more recent literature, but in reading his book one has the impression, alas, that it was often the wrong third. To be specific, he might have checked *Byz. Zeitschr.* 67 (1974), pp. 385–93 and *Klio* 68 (1986), pp. 620–23, esp. n. 28.

[36]   And Photios along with him, since Photios praises him so.

above and even to suggest solutions for some of the problems left unresolved in
the first part of this essay.

But first I must set forth a criterion that has aided understanding in the case of
other texts as well. Especially in dealing with late antique authors one must ask
what condition their [8] work was in when it reached the Byzantine renaissance,
during which they were copied (transcribed) and where their medieval tradition
started. It can be observed that their condition was frequently very poor, not to
say catastrophic.[37] Something similar is seen in Zosimos.

Not only is there a lacuna in the text of the oracle but, above all, after the
oracle, the entirety of Zosimos' explanation is lost, probably because of the loss
of pages.

The medieval copyist (or redactor) realised this and offered an interpretation
of his own as a replacement. With the help of Zosimos' declaration that it is an
oracle about Constantinople (he understood 'foundation' and not 'success')
and by taking the following chapter about unnecessary tax burden into
consideration, he made up his own interpretation and wrote it down. During
this he unconsciously reveals himself as a Christian and does not seem to
realise the contradictions. Or perhaps he does, as he concludes the paragraph
with the following words: 'If it seems to anyone that the oracle is to be
interpreted differently, let him think so (this means: differently) (εἰ δέ τῳ τὸ
χρησθὲν ἑτέρως ἔχειν δοκεῖ, ταύτῃ νοείτω).' He does not seem to be too
sure about his own interpretation. This is an honest bit of (medieval Byzantine)
philological work on a mutilated text, but no inadequate Zosimos. It seems
possible that this sentence was added in the margin after copying.

I think it is possible that the comments about Nikomedes,[38] who was misled
by the oracle, can be attributed not to Zosimos, but to a (the same? medieval?)
commentator.

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[37] Cf. four of my pieces, 'Die Interpretation des Bellum Avaricum und der Kater
Μεχλεμπέ', Varia II=Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 6 (Bonn, 1987), pp. 371–402: Part 2: The mission
of the patrikios Athanasios to the khagan of the Avars, on the transmission of the Chronicon
Paschale; 'War Bronze ein knappes Metall?', Hellenika 39 (1989), pp. 3–17, on the
transmission of the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai; Dossier, and Ich Bin's nicht, Kaiser
Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die legenden vom Einflusss des Teufels, des Juden, und des
Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 10 (Bonn, 1990) on numerous texts of
the eighth century. The same conditions prevailed in the West, see my 'Marginalien zu
dem Gedicht "In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris" des Corippus', Philologus 134 (1990),
pp. 82–92.

[38] It was probably a marginal note, see p. 274 below.

After having proved such a long corruption (loss of text – by loss of pages – in the late antique version before it was copied in the Middle Ages)[39] it is legitimate to ask whether additional corruptions should not be assumed.

[9] The previously introduced chapters 30–38 of the second book can roughly be divided like this: 30, 31 – Constantinople (foundation); 32, 33, 34 – Constantine's incompetence (administrative, military); 35, 36, 37 – Constantinople (great success; oracle to that effect); 38 – Constantine's incompetence (finances).

If one, as a little mind game, places chapters 32, 33, 34 after 35, 36, 37 one would get a more sensible flow: 30, 31, 35, 36, 37 – Constantinople (foundation, growth, oracle); 32, 33, 34, 38 – Constantine's incompetence (in all areas). Would that not be the order which even historians of mediocre talent could be capable of? I prefer it and I think it methodologically more accurate to strive to save Zosimos' honour again, and therefore consider the present-day disorder of the chapters as the result of the swapping of a page (or pages),[40] which was not spotted by the medieval redactor.

In the first part of the essay I put forward the thesis that the 'Zosimos' we have access to is the author's dossier – with additions, and marginal notes – not his final edited version. Adding the evidence of the second part, severe mutilation and disfigurement of the late antique exemplar, one comes to a rather surprising conclusion: the copy which reached the Middle Ages in bad condition and was copied after a fashion, was the autograph, the dossier of Zosimos. This assertion can be made more plausible by referring to the observations mentioned above.

The remark about the Traifali (end of Chapter 31) was a marginal note, which Zosimos placed (temporarily) at the beginning of Chapter 32 (ἀπόλεμος and τρυφῇ). The redactor-copyist, who, after the mix-up of pages, now copied Chapter 32 following Chapter 31, inserted the marginal note into the text and added it to the end of the mutilated Chapter 31 (after κατασκευάσας δὲ οἰκίας τισὶν ... ἀκολουθήσασιν αὐτῷ) with his own words: (διετέλεσεν?)[41]

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[39]   In addition, there is a lacuna of unestimatable size in the text of the oracle, which arose not because of a loss of a page but rather from carelessness or from the illegibility of the text. Add to this another corruption, since verses two and seven have the same ending.

[40]   It is not worth the attempt to calculate this, as it will soon be shown that text is missing.

[41]   This might still be original.

πόλεμον οὐδένα καθωρθωκώς, for which he found justification in the ἀπόλεμος and the marginal note.

The same has occurred at the end of the mixed up chapters, namely at the start of Chapter 35. Following the (incorrect) notice about securing the succession of power, the extraordinary growth of the city is described. The necessary conclusion has to be that the beginning is again missing[42] due to mutilation and has been replaced by the redactor with a marginal note. Zosimos would have added this note here (again temporarily), because it fitted his chronological concept. But it would not have been as nonsensical as it reads today; rather the nonsense goes back to the copyist, who could not decipher a marginal note that had become hard to read. That the marginal notes were indeed hard to decipher finally becomes obvious in the corruption found in the note about the Traifali.[43]

The note about the pile dwellings (end of Chapter 35) was a marginal note to begin with. This is shown because it [10] appears negative only in this context, whereas in actual fact it is meant positively and therefore reveals a positive source, and it has obvious corruptions.[44] Finally, it seems that the note on Nikomedes before the oracle was, because of its mistakes and problematic content, another marginal note.[45]

Chapter 31 also contains a marginal note: A. Berger rightly postulates that between the Basilica and the Augusteon Constantine built only one temple, later known as the Milion.[46] But Zosimos writes about two temples: ... ναοὺς ᾠκοδομήσατο δύο ἐγκαθιδρύσας ἀγάλματα θατέρῳ μὲν (followed by the story of the mutilation of Rhea), ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ Ῥώμης ἱδρύσατο Τύχην. It is quite possible that at either end of the Basilica steps a temple had been built. But it is the case that in the second one (which has no commentary, as opposed to that on Rhea) the Tyche of Rome was supposedly put up. But that would have been something pagan and so would not fit the picture that Zosimos tries to paint of Constantine and his city. Due to this I cannot exclude the possibility that a – perhaps even critical – marginal note speaks of the mutilated Rhea, as something like the Tyche of Rome. This evolved, after a misinterpretation of a faulty reading, into a second temple.

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[42]   The top of the recto was probably illegible.
[43]   See nn. 15 and 16 above.
[44]   See n. 21 above.
[45]   Cf. pp. 269 and 272 above.
[46]   See n. 14 above.

After analysing these few chapters[47] one can draw the following conclusion: Zosimos wrote a *Historia* in codex form,[48] but did not consider it finished and carried on working on it.

Due to the obviously incomplete state of the work, it is safe to say that Zosimos did not 'publish' the work. His 'personal copy' with marginal notes survived his death. His friends probably knew about it and therefore saved it. In any case the copy reached the Middle Ages although in very poor condition: the binding was loose, sheets were mixed up or missing and many passages, especially in the margins, were no longer clear or no longer legible.

This is also true for the end of the *Historia*. It can no longer be established how many sheets have gone missing at the end, but it seems obvious that the work did not end in such a trivial fashion as we find today. The mutilation at the end (rather than a break due to the author's death[49]) becomes obvious because the number of corruptions increases towards the end.[50] This means that the final sheets, probably because they were loose, had suffered more and were harder to decipher and it also means that sheets got lost.

In any case the worse for wear 'personal copy' reached Byzantium, where an eager Byzantine took care of having a copy made. It became the archetype for the present Vaticanus 156.[51] This [11] redactor-copyist did his very best, bearing in mind the state the manuscript was in. We should not accuse him, even if he was obviously wrong,[52] because we present-day philologists are also liable to criticism.

No doubt about the following thought: all the criticism bestowed onto Zosimos vanishes into thin air. His work had an order and a concept to it and we cannot hold it against him that he was not able to finish it and left only a personal copy which reached the Middle Ages in extremely poor condition. So Zosimos could not have been that stupid! The text is not 'Zosimos' and it is not the author, whom Photios, all criticism regarding the contents aside, praises as

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[47] I realize that everything should be bigger and better, but my time is limited.

[48] This assertion rests on the loss of a page and the damage to several, see n. 28 above.

[49] Paschoud pleads for this *RE*, 802.

[50] This is the problem mentioned in n. 13.

[51] Not it itself, not even the first part, n. 62 below.

[52] Besides, we still understand this copyist-editor's method of work far too little. For example, if scraps of text were inserted, were lacunae marked and were the marks lost only in the course of later transmission? Or was an absolutely continuous text established? I deal at length with these questions in the works mentioned in n. 37 above.

an author. If today's text is claimed to be 'Zosimos', one not only calls him dim, but also denies Photios all power of judgement (these stupid Byzantines!).

And a few more thoughts regarding Photios can be added here.

Firstly we have to answer the question which edition of Zosimos Photios had access to. Because he summarises the ending of the text we know,[53] it must also be, if my hypothesis is right, the author's personal copy that was preserved into the Middle Ages.

But it is the fact that Photios talks about a 'second edition' to which he had access (Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ οὗτος [Zosimos] δύο ἐκδόσεις, ὥσπερ κάκεῖνος [Eunapios] πεποιηκέναι. Ἀλλὰ τούτου τὴν προτέραν οὐκ εἶδον· ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἦν ἀνέγνωμεν ἐπέγραψε, 'νέας ἐκδόσεως' συμβαλεῖν ἦν καὶ ἑτέραν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Εὐναπίῳ, ἐκδεδόσθαι).

The state of the text, with marginal notes and additions, could make it obvious to Photios that this was a revision, and therefore a (planned) second edition of the *Historia*. In addition to that it seems that there was a note to that effect on the title page. In any case there is no reason to claim that Photios confused 'Νέα Ἱστορία' with 'Νέα Ἔκδοσις'.[54]

The first edition, which Photios could not find and which we cannot get hold of today, did exist. Because our text represents the 'personal copy in the process of revision', and had probably not been published in this form in Late Antiquity, the 'Zosimos' whom Euagrios cited and combatted,[55] must be a different one, namely the first edition.

[12] Although one tends to assume that the text read by Euagrios ends in the same place as the present one, there is no proof for that.[56] Euagrios writes that

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[53] Cf. Paschoud *RE*, 802.

[54] So Paschoud *RE*, 800, since he takes the view that the text available to us is the first and only edition but that because of the missing conclusion and signs that the work remained unfinished it was never published in the author's lifetime, but only posthumously.

[55] *Eccles. Hist.* 3.40–41 ed. Bidez-Parmentier, p. 139f. John of Antioch also used Zosimos. See most recently P. Sotiroudis, 'Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Iohannes von Antiocheia', *Επιστ. Επετ. της Φιλοσ. Σχολής του Αριστ. Πανεπ. Θεσ/νικης Παράρτημα* 67 (Thessalonike, 1989), pp. 127–34. But one can find nothing relevant to Zosimos in the passage. Still, as a matter of principle one must consider whether [12] John of Antioch had additional sources or a 'better' text of Zosimos, meaning to say the first edition, since there are places where he provides more that the corresponding passages of Zosimos do.

[56] The argument in Paschoud *RE*, 802 is this: Euagrios says that Zosimos continued his history down to the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and this roughly suits the work in its

Zosimos, contrary to Eusebios who was a contemporary of Constantine, could know nothing.[57] Σὺ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀκοὴν γράφεις, μή τί γε δὴ ἀλήθειαν. πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐπὶ 'Αρκαδίου τε καὶ 'Ονωρίου. μέχρις οὗ γέγραφας. ἢ καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς γεγονώς. This means first of all, that Euagrios did not know when Zosimos had lived and written, but from the work derived the assumption that it was during the reign of Arkadios and Honorios, or later, and noted that the *Historia* reached Honorios. Due to this we are no longer so close to the present ending in the year 410, because Honorios, who is here the only one picked out (μέχρις οὗ!), reigned until 423. Be that as it may, there is no reason for the assumption that the first edition ended in the same place; furthermore it is possible that, given the state of the medieval text, the second edition was shorter than the first one.[58]

In any case it might have happened like this: Zosimos wrote a *Historia* (first edition) and published it. He had courage[59] and perhaps society was tolerant enough to live with such a book.[60] He kept one copy of the first edition for himself and sometime decided to make a second, revised edition. He inserted more material into this copy of the first edition and added notes in the margins, as he found it; but he could not finish the work. But it was exactly this 'personal copy' which came down to the Middle Ages and represents the text available now.[61] Furthermore it means that anything that cannot be identified as a later addition to the present text, has to be text from the first edition.[62]

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present condition. Euagrios thus would have made the work end in 408, and this agrees fairly well with the present ending in 410.

[57]   *Eccles. Hist.* 3.40, p. 140.24–27 (Bidez-Parmentier).

[58]   For a hypothetical solution, see n. 61 below.

[59]   Even if he was unknown to Eunapios, who later of course published an expurgated version. See Photios, *Codex 77.*

[60]   This is unrelated to the fact that Eunapios 'toned down' his second edition. See n. 59 above.

[61]   Hypothetically, we can now propose the following as regards the end of the work: the first edition went down to around 410. For the later period treated in the second edition, Zosimos gathered something in the way of material but no longer kept it bound and instead placed loose pages in the volume. These of course were lost but so were one or several pages at the end of the first edition. The last pages still left had become barely legible and thus gave signs of more corruptions, as noted above.

[62]   Photios thus had the first edition at hand but not as a separate work and consequently it went unnoticed. This is perhaps consistent with how he kept the two editions of Eunapios in separate volumes. Cf. *Codex 77.* Zosimos is also used in the excerpts of Constantine VII. See most recently A. Forcina, *Lettori bizantini di Zosimo. Le note marginali del cod. Vat. gr.*

[13] Yes, one can even go a step further and rethink the question of Eunapios as a model. As has been suggested before, Photios does not compel us to assume that Zosimos wrote an abridged version of Eunapios, but he also does not exclude it. And his claim that Zosimos has rewritten Eunapios, is no doubt based on the observation that both works contain many identical passages, so we are allowed to conclude a relation between the two.

What thus excludes the assumption that the first edition of Zosimos is mainly a metaphrasis of Eunapios?[63] Photios who might have read Zosimos without the mixed up pages, did not assert a dependency, he only remarked on a strong identity with regard to content. Nevertheless the dependency may be there: Zosimos at first go would have rewritten Eunapios in a shortened and compressed style. This might mean that the central text, without the additions,

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156, Pubbl. d. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze filologiche e letteratura 27 (Milan, 1987), pp. 99–102, hereafter Forcina. But there does not seem to be a separate manuscript tradition at work, as Forcina says, p. 27f. There also could have been a copy of the first edition. It is much more surprising that all the excerpts come from the second part of the manuscript [13] (Forcina, p. 27) and thus from the part that two scribes of the eleventh century wrote, whereas the first part is the work of two hands of the tenth century (Forcina, p. 16f.). These abundantly surprising combinations, not clarified until recently (see also Paschoud, p. lxxix), may possibly be explained by suggesting that the excerpters of Constantine VII only took the second part of the autograph copy for their work and so they separated it from the first part. This first part was then copied as the first part of Vat. gr. 156 and only a hundred years later did copyists turn to the second part but they could not or would not unite it with the first part. Thus it was copied and bound together with the first part, making the whole of Zosimos available. (Please note that like all hypotheses this one awaits refutation by a better one!) The idea that Vat. gr. 156, or to be exact, the first part of it, was not directly copied from the autograph copy of Zosimos and that an in-between step must have been taken (as I have already said on p. 275 above) finds support in the date of the excerpting of Constantine VII, which is too late for the first part, which dates to the second half of the tenth century. The good corrections found in the first three parts (see Mendelssohn, pp. xxiv–xxvi) may naturally in some degree derive from a new inspection of the autograph copy, yet this assumption is not necessary and requires further study. In any case the corrective work must have gone on down to the eleventh century. Because of the link to the excerpts of Constantine VII and also the number of scribes involved, I still consider it likely that the whole of the scribal and corrective work on Vat. gr. 156 was done in the imperial library.

[63]   Perhaps after the first edition of Eunapios, who had himself repudiated it because of a second one milder in its criticism of the Christians? See n. 59 above. Baldini, as n. 6, pp. 119–56, establishes that the first edition of Eunapios went down to 378 and the second down to 410. Zosimos thus worked with the second edition. Yet Baldini overlooks the arguments that Photios presents concerning the authorship of the second one.

in large parts arose as a metaphrasis of Eunapios. Photios praised this, because Zosimos covered the same content πρὸς μεγαλυτέραν σαφήνειαν.

However it seems possible that Zosimos might also have carried out more work on the first edition and added different material, for example the news about the expansion of the city under Theodosius, because that was not part of Eunapios.[64] Here a lot more detailed research is required.

[14] One thing however can be said. The modern judgement of Zosimos needs to be revised in the sense of Photios' judgement: he was by no means stupid and neither a bad author nor a 'bad' historian. Despite the fact that he wrote strong polemics against Christian emperors and twisted the truth on many occasions, he grasped the concept of the Old World and presented it in a well ordered and consistent way.

Or as a moral: never judge an author, if you have not checked the condition of his work in detail.[65]

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[64] So already Pachoud. Scholars thus assume that the excursus reflects some activity of Zosimos' (Paschoud *RE*, 825). First of all we cannot know whether this excursus was inserted into the first or second edition. As for the oracle (see n. 35 above), I should remark that people do not believe Zosimos found the oracle, in spite of his reassurances (see Paschoud *RE*, 814) and say that could have been in his model, and that the remark 'I have found it' would then belong to the model, and so to Eunapios. Yet if Zosimos is not supposed to have exercised editorial control over this remark, we would have to assign it to the second edition [14] and then Eunapios would not be the source. By the same token, if it is supposed to have existed in the first edition and actually stems from Eunapios, these words would look like shameless arrogance on Zosimos' part. This is the argument, but I think such a supposition 'proves' nothing except that Zosimos is a 'bad' writer who in this case speaks untruthfully. There is no proof that Zosimos plumed himself with other birds' feathers.

[65] The most recent literature on Zosimos does not cover the subjects discussed here: A. Baldini, 'Le due edizioni della Storia di Eunapio e le jonti della Storia Nuova di Zosimo', *Ann. Univ. Macerata* 19 (1986), pp. 45–109; K.-H. Leven, 'Zur Polemik des Zosimos' in: *Roma Renascens. Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte I. Opelt ... gewidmet*, ed. M. Wissemann (Frankfurt/Main 1988), pp. 177–97.

Badly-Ordered Thoughts on Philhellenism[1]

ἤτοι

Άταχτες σκέψεις για τον φιλελληνισμό

Schlecht geordnete Gedanken zum Philellenismus

[1] Φιλέλλην is an ancient Greek word and means: friend of the Greeks. It was mainly used for foreign statesmen, for example the great king of Persia, if they had shown appreciation for the Greeks.

The word was not used in the Middle Ages. The simple reason for this is that the word Έλλην itself had changed its meaning. When the Christian Church had to deal with non-Christians during the first centuries, if it therefore, as we would say today, had to fight against heathens, it had to confront two groups within the Roman Empire: Jews and devotees of the old gods, 'Gods of the Hellenes' as they were called by all. In this sense Έλλην no longer meant the inhabitants of the Greek or Hellenized territories of the Mediterranean, defined by language, culture and history, but the stubborn and old-fashioned worshippers of the pagan gods. When referring to themselves, the people of the East Roman Empire – no matter whether they were speaking Greek or something else as their native language – used the word Ῥωμαῖοι.

In the Late Middle Ages this changes again. Due to many conquests, especially by the Turks, Byzantine territory was reduced to just the area of ancient Greek settlement. Mainly in order to distinguish themselves from the Latin West, people reverted to using the word Έλλην more and more often, for two reasons:

Apart from the Turks the West, represented by the sea-powers of Genoa and

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[1]   A talk first given at the opening of the *Philhellenismus* exhibit in Berlin on 13 January 1984. The revised version published here was given at the meeting of the Association of German Byzantinists in Frankfurt-am-Main on 22 February 1991.

Venice, was a deadly enemy which proved to be extremely dangerous, and not just because of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. In Byzantium people were furthermore well aware of the fact, even if it was not openly admitted, that the West was far ahead of Byzantium from a military, economic and cultural point of view. In order to understand the effects [2] of those developments one has to take a longer prehistory into account.

During the major catastrophes of the seventh and eighth centuries – the conquest of the greater part of the Roman Empire by the Avars, Slavs, Langobards and Arabs – the classical tradition of the East Roman culture was broken off. This especially applied to historiography, poetry in ancient metres, philology and philosophy. After the political situation had become more stable about the middle of the eighth century, people tried to pick up the broken threads for various reasons, a phenomenon we call the Byzantine renaissance. One reason for this is the fact that the Byzantines realized that their new neighbours on the territory of the Roman Empire – namely Franks and Arabs – did exactly the same even if for completely different reasons. The Franks and Arabs took on classical culture in its entirety (the former in Latin, the latter with the help of translations into Arabic), because they were conscious that after their military conquest they now also had to succeed the former rulers from a cultural perspective. The Byzantines did not see the necessity to do that – as they were Romans and within the imperial tradition – but they also fell back on the culture of an earlier period, because in a very complicated social and psychological process, they were not willing on the one hand to admit that they only ruled over a part of the Empire, nor on the other hand to concede the claims of their neighbours. By returning to the tradition of the era before the catastrophes, they wanted to prove to their neighbours that those had not really happened and that they still remained the only true Romans, especially from a cultural perspective.[2]

But this meant that the Byzantines became rather set in their cultural ways of thinking – the model of Classical Antiquity became more and more obligatory and so to speak a kind of fetter – whilst the Arabs and Franks remained flexible, because they did not consider what was their own, or what was imported, as a

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[2] I apologize for not being able to advance evidence for all the assertions that I make, for I would exceed the bounds of this essay many times over. Concerning Byzantium, I refer to my piece 'Ideologische Ansprüche – historische Realität. Zum Problem des Selbstverständnisses der Byzantiner, Vorträge der Tagung der Akademie für politische Bildung in Tutzing: Byzanz und seine Nachbarn' in *Südosteuropa – Jahrbuch* 1994 26 (1996) pp. 19–45.

straightjacket. To name but two examples: Arabic astronomy or Dante's poetry would have been unthinkable in Byzantium, because both meant a huge step beyond the inherited culture.

The more the Empire shrank the greater became the necessity to compensate. They regarded themselves, finally, as the true successors [3] of the culture which stood at the origin of all cultures, the Greek one. In their cultural self-understanding they became Ἕλλην again and therefore the expression could be used as a political term again, in the small remainder of the former Empire. But at this point Byzantium was already at an end. George Gemistos Plethon could not succeed with his plan of reviving ancient Hellenic culture; his books were burnt at the stake! Paradoxically, Sultan Mehmet, the conqueror, becomes a Φιλέλλην again, because he had the welfare of his Greek subjects at heart.

But that was just a brief episode. During the centuries of Turkish rule the word 'Ρωμαῖος became the expression with which the Greeks identified themselves, because it also incorporated their orthodoxy. Only in the last decades before the Greek Revolution did some Greek intellectuals, partly influenced by the French Revolution, try to find a new identity. They rejected Byzantine multi-culturalism and tried to define their own nation: the nation of the Greeks, defining themselves as the successors of the ancient Greeks, speaking their language and settled in their territories.

Parallel with this development, in the West people began to rediscover the ancient Greeks. The West discovered Antiquity during the Italian Renaissance. The Italian city-states above all found their identity, in opposition to the German Empire north of the Alps, by returning to republican Rome. In this first phase of discovering Antiquity as an independent epoch – as opposed to the debased view of the Middle Ages and the contemporary era – they did not yet distinguish between Greeks and Romans. They were still *the Ancients* who influenced art and culture so authoritatively and acted as models for them.

This changed during the eighteenth century. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, in particular, discovered the fact that the Romans imitated the Greeks and he regarded the Greeks as the actual creators of European art and culture. With their 'noble naiveté and their quiet magnificence' the Greeks were the climax and with their norms remained the ideal for all times up until the present day. The ancient Greeks' unique role in the history of mankind was supported unequivocally and formed the common basis of European cultural self-understanding at the turn of the nineteenth century.

After some preliminaries, which are not of importance here, the uprising in

Greece broke out in 1821, and in circumstances of great difficulty a Greek state came into being. This state was an important factor in the cold calculations of the great powers, namely Russia, England, France and Austria-Hungary. In the end the young state had to thank the interests of these powers for its survival.

[4] Simultaneously there erupted a wave of sympathy for the Greeks fighting for freedom, especially in England and Germany, based on the previously described view of the Greeks in Western Europe. In contrast to all other peoples who tried to free themselves from Turkish occupation – thinking only, and indeed just in the present century, of the Armenians and the massacres perpetrated on them, which managed to go almost unnoticed – the Greeks had the advantage of their name and the cultural and moral obligation of the West Europeans gained thereby.

Those people who supported the Greek struggle with words, money and sometimes by personal participation, are called Philhellenes. They used the ancient word, in its Greek form indeed, and so allied themselves to the Greeks, who called themselves Hellenes, and they loaded the word Ἕλλην with a burden that the Greeks did not think about. Now it was not only a question of succeeding the ancient Greeks in the sense of a national identity, but also of a cultural obligation, resulting from the fact that the modern Greeks considered themselves the descendants of the ancient Greeks.

This however remained at a fairly subconscious level during the first few years after the Greek Revolution and one can hardly find any proof by looking at the representatives of this first wave of Philhellenism, for example the Bavarian king Ludwig I, or Lord Byron who himself went to Greece to fight.

This changed quite suddenly in 1830, when the first – and also the most severe up to the present day – attack on the ideology of Philhellenism occurred: the culprit was the historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer.

People tend to overlook the fact – especially Fallmerayer's opponents – that he was as much a politician as he was a historian. Just remember that during the revolution of 1848 he had not only been a member of the parliament in the 'Frankfurter Paulskirche', but also of the 'Rest-Parliament' in Stuttgart, which lost him his chair as a professor at the University of Munich.[3]

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[3] See the collection of essays edited by E. Thurnher, *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, Wissenschaftler, Politiker, Schriftsteller* (Innsbruck, 1993) and particularly the essays by A. Hohlweg, 'Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer und seine geistige Umwelt', and R. Lauer, 'Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer and die Slaven'.

Fallmerayer developed a historical theory, which also represented his attitude towards foreign politics: he was convinced that epochs of world history are governed by races. Antiquity was first dominated by the Greeks and then by the Romans. The Middle Ages was the time of the Germans, and in modern times it was the turn of the Slavs. Fallmerayer presented Panslavism [5] and above all the Russian tendency to expand to the Balkans and the Mediterranean as evidence. The danger of orthodox Greece making common cause with Russia became evident on several occasions during the fight for independence.

Fallmerayer asked the question – this time as a historian – what had caused this and he made a surprising discovery. Unlike previous scholars who based their theories on a common language, he based his on race, and stressed that from this point of view the argument for the racial identity of ancient and modern Greeks stood on very a weak footing. Slavic immigration in the sixth and seventh centuries and the Albanian expansion at the end of the Middle Ages contradicted the argument for the continuity of a Greek race. He warned those in favour of an independent Greek state that their enthusiasm for Greece made them forget its Slavic character and therefore blindly support Russian, Panslavic expansionist policies.

As if that was not enough, Fallmerayer, also one of the greatest German stylists, expressed his thoughts with exquisite spite. In 1830 he wrote in his book *Geschichte des Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, which justified his theory, 'that not a single drop of true Hellenic blood flows through the veins of the Christian inhabitants of modern Greece' and 'the Arnaut of Suli and Argos, the Slav of Kiev and Veligosti in Arcadia, the Bulgar of Triaditza and the Christian thief of Montenegro had the same right as Scanderbeg and Colocotroni to the name and rank of a Greek'. And to the dismay of all philhellenes he added 'that in our days only an imagination fed by romantic novels could conjure up the resurrection of the ancient Greeks with their Sophocleses and Platos'.

This was a declaration of war against Philhellenism in all its naïveté and at the same time an attack on the national identity of the Greek state. As all the other conflicts of this kind, this one is simply absurd. Fallmerayer denied the racial identity of the Greeks with the help of historical arguments. So it was up to the historians – assuming that it is racial identity that really determines the identity of the Greeks – to prove him wrong.

But how could Fallmerayer be proved wrong if the few existing sources

from the 'Dark Ages', the time between the sixth and eighth centuries, prove him right? One employs the help of the following theoretical construction.

In the eighth century a theological and political movement was founded, which condemned the cult of images, but was never, as often has been assumed, against art in its entirety; this movement was called iconoclasm. In the ninth century the cult [6] of images won out. This was first and foremost down to the Empress Eirene, who, for political reasons, decided to favour the followers of the cult of images and issued a proclamation during a Council in 787 declaring it as the only true belief.

Eirene was born in Athens and for reasons of self-propaganda announced that she was never in favour of iconoclasm and that she did not want to be associated with her extremely evil father-in-law Constantine V. She claimed to have worshipped images from early childhood. Legends to that effect were spread about: she claimed to have been beaten and then denounced by her own husband, because she had hidden an icon under her pillow.[4]

Based on these sources Fallmerayer's opponents argued that Athens, Eirene's home, was central to the cult of images and that Greece therefore did not participate in the condemnation of images. It was said that the attack on images only took place in the Asian part of the Empire, so that their attitude against images was motivated by their Islamic neighbours.

But that is not all. Due to his high opinion of the Greeks Winckelmann thought they had a unique attitude towards art: the Greeks are 'eye-people', who differently from all others created an immediate relation between seeing and art. In Goethe's *Faust* Lynkeus expresses it as follows:

> Zum Sehen geboren, zum Schauen bestellt
> [Born to see, ordered to look]

The English historian Edward Gibbon, with his Enlightenment sympathies, wrote in his work *Decline and Fall of the Later Roman Empire* at the end of the eighteenth century that Byzantine icon painting in its flat shapelessness was only a faint imitation of ancient Greek art and so confirmed his thesis of its decline.

But now one could turn the tables and write: the fact that only in Greece, home of Eirene, the cult of images was not condemned, that icons were worshipped and painted and that iconoclasm could not take root there, proves

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[4]   See my 'Ikonen under dem Kopfkissen', *Klio* 72 (1990), pp. 246–53.

that genuine descendants of the ancient Greeks lived there, Greeks who still had a special relation to seeing and to art and did not allow iconoclasts to touch the icons. Yes, they even rebelled against the emperor on account of the icons!

So, descendants of the ancient Greeks lived in Greece, which one had set out to prove. Therefore sources describing Slavic attacks must be wrong or unreliable. This petty historical attitude goes even further: apart from a racial identity one also needs an identity in matters of one's faith. [7] Nowadays Greeks are orthodox after all and in the course of their history they combatted the Ἕλληνες whom they regarded as pagans. The interpretation of iconoclasm provided the necessary handle. Iconoclasm was favoured by emperors whose ideology was rooted in Asiatic thinking and who wanted to suppress and discipline the Church in their empire. If the Church was ready to do battle against these iconoclasts, then it had won a struggle for its independence and freedom; it then became a truly Greek Church, as if the struggle of the Athenians against the Persians had been fought once more by some bishops against their emperors.

All this was the result of historical research undertaken not in Greece, but Europe. The theory interpreting iconoclasm as a fight for the independence of the *Greek* Church, was first expressed by none other than Adolf von Harnack, Germany's most important church historian. Those who think that this has been long out of date, just remember the motto of the Greek military junta: Ἑλλάς Ἑλλήνων Χριστιανῶν, which expresses the principle that Christian descendants of ancient Greeks live on Greek soil. This summarises precisely what historians have said before.[5]

Now we have reached the other side of the border. Whilst western phil-hellenes with their partly confusing ideas prove nothing more than that they swim with all the tides of historiography (naturally these are also politically motivated), in Greece the same thoughts are turned into real policies. Or to put it differently: all ideas expressed against Fallmerayer and his successors by West-European philhellenes are adopted by Greece and turned immediately into state ideology.[6]

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[5]   On the entire complex, see my *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978) especially Appendix 3: 'Griechenland blieb orthodox. Zur Geschichte eines historiographischen Klischee', pp. 404–19.

[6]   Cf. G. Veloudis, 'Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer und die Entstehung des neugriechischen

Yes, one can word it that strongly and say that the whole state ideology of Greece since the middle of the last century is based on philhellenic ideas, with all their consequences for Greek intellectual life. This is not the *fault* of Philhellenism itself, because the causes for this lie elsewhere.

For reasons which do not need to be discussed, every modern state draws its ideological justifications from history. It is proper that everybody has a history that is as old as possible and that the people are as autochthonous as possible. [8] In this respect the Greeks are no different from their neighbours: the Bulgarians understand themselves as descendants of the Thracians, the Albanians name the Illyrians, the Romanians point towards the Dacians, and even the Turks cite the Trojans or Hittites.

However, the Greek relationship with their ancestors has always been different, because the Greeks do not descend from just any ancestors, but from the unique ancient Greeks. This results in such a complex picture, that I would need to describe the history of Modern Greece to give an indication of the areas in which traces of this imported Philhellenism can be found. Again only a few examples must suffice in order to show that all the ideological and political structures which were shared by other nations, were emphasised differently because of its philhellenist orientation.

During the first decades after its foundation, the young Greek nation consisted of only a small part of its present territory. There are no statistics to prove it, but I suppose that the greatest part of the population at the time were hellenised or even not yet hellenised Albanians.[7] It is understood that under the circumstances previously discussed these people were declared to be Greek and that Greek was the only official language.

But that is not all. As any other language, Greek has developed over the centuries and is now as different from ancient Greek as Italian is from Latin. Whilst in the West people declare their belief in a vulgar language, and it is part of their national identity and therefore legitimises a popular language, in

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Historismus' in *Südostforschungen* 29 (1970), pp. 43–90, translated into modern Greek as ''Ο Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer καὶ ἡ γένεση τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἱστορισμοῦ', (Θεωρία καὶ Μελέτες Ἱστορίας 5) (Athens, 1982).

[7]   The hellenisation of the Albanians in this first Greek land started long before the foundation of the Greek state, because the Albanians did not become an independent nation in the Middle Ages; therefore they did not develop their own liturgy, their own literature or written language. They thus oriented themselves towards Greek. In addition to that, Greek was the *lingua franca* of merchants in the Balkans.

Byzantium people had an uneasy feeling towards the popular language since the Byzantine renaissance and especially during the Turkish occupation, because they associated it with the downfall of education and decadence generally.[8] Therefore, they always went back to mixed forms of the language, which did not deny the development into modern Greek, but nevertheless kept many elements of the ancient Greek language – languages which the people did not use in speech, but [9] their forefathers used in books, moreover ones that the people more or less did not understand. Such a language – and indeed one very closely related to ancient Greek – became the official state and school language, a development influenced by the Bavarians, whose (actually) imported philhellenism is not to be overlooked. As a result not only were the Albanians forced to speak a foreign language, but also the Greeks themselves were confronted with a state working in such a language. The only advantage of this was one could pretend that the historical development had been much shorter and therefore the distance from their forefathers was so slight that it was hardly noticeable.

This language problem remains typical for Greece until the present day in two ways. Over the decades Greece managed to expand its territory towards the north. The farther it expanded, the more minority languages became part of it. I am mainly thinking of the Vlachs and the Macedonian-Bulgarian speaking Macedonians,[9] as well as the Spanish speaking Jews especially in Thessalonike.

The problem that arises from these languages and peoples was solved rather easily. The Vlachs were called romanised Greeks[10] – most Greek Vlachs believe in this fictitious tale until the present day and are really hurt if anybody says otherwise – the Slavic Macedonians were declared to be βουλγαρόφωνοι who in their hearts and blood naturally are Greeks. That Greek therefore

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[8]   In the period before the Byzantine renaissance the popular speech of the time did fairly un-selfconcious service as a literary language, too. See e.g. my *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9 (Bonn, 1988), pp. 40–43, 55–58 and passim. But scholars of literature written in δημοτική have not yet noticed this.

[9]   At this time we are seeing the first hints of a national awareness concerning the Macedonians on the other side of the frontier, in Skopje, and this deserves emphasis.

[10]   In fact they descend from Latinized Balkan peoples who under the impact of the Slavic migrations turned into semi-nomads. The Sarakatsanoi are Greek semi-nomads of the same origin.

became the official school language seemed natural. Whereas Vlachs were allowed to keep using their own language in everyday life (on the street and at home) – Romania is far and they have always been very loyal citizens – the Slavic Macedonians had to be forced into adopting the Greek culture. This had geographical – Macedonians speaking the same language also lived north of the border – and political reasons – the Greek communists, for example, during the German occupation voted for an independent Macedonian state stretching as far as Skopje. Obviously the theory of the βουλγαρόφωνοι was not trusted and it was preferred to cudgel them into being ἑλληνόφωνοι. That they were Greek could not be doubted, as one could already write scientific studies about the northern border of the Greek world (*The Northern Ethnological* [10] *Boundaries of Hellenism*[11]) and reach the conclusion – oh miracle! – that they are nearly identical with the current state borders.

More recently all these problems solved themselves, not only were cultural propaganda and forced grecization successful – the Macedonians, who consider themselves different from the people in Skopje (!)[12] and who feel Greek, also educate their children in Greek, so that they have equal opportunities at school – but economic circumstance and migration into cities will finally force the second generation of people living in those cities to speak only Greek.

In contrast to the Vlachs and Macedonians, one cannot invent such fictitious circumstances where the Jews are concerned (e.g. 'Mosaic Greeks'), and therefore such make-believe sounds ridiculous. Despite all pledges of devotion the Greek nation state distrusted them until the end, and – I must be quite wicked and sharp – that sometimes the suspicion seems true that at least nationalist Greeks seem to be glad that Germany took the problem with the Jews off their hands and solved it in Auschwitz with the usual German thoroughness. Otherwise one keeps quiet about the Jews: neither was there a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of their deportation, nor can one find any reference to the fact that the campus of the University of Thessalonike is on the former Jewish cemetery.[13]

While the language problem could thus be solved – except of course for the Turks in Thrace who were protected by the Treaty of Lausanne – the other side of the problem is, as far as I can see, far from being solved. In the last century a

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[11]   St. Kyriakides (Thessalonike, 1955).
[12]   The nuances of Σκοπιανοί are difficult to convey.
[13]   As of 1985 my request that the Greek government and the University of Thessalonike erect a commemorative plaque has remained unanswered.

movement developed against the high style of language (the καθαρεύουσα), *pure* as it was called, and which was promoted by the state, favouring the language spoken by the people, the δημοτική. In recent years this movement has obtained decisive success and Iannis Kakrides has at last won what might be called a posthumous victory in the δίκη των τόνων.[14] But this victory draws a veil over the actual problem, namely that the δημοτική is nothing like the speech of the people, but rather as the καθαρεύουσα is itself *pure* again and has been painstakingly cleansed of all non-Greek elements. Historically speaking this is due to the fact that the supporters of the καθαρεύουσα maintained that the δημοτική was not Greek, but a non-language completely adulterated and perverted during foreign rule, and in reply the defenders of the δημοτική [11] presented proof that it was the best Greek in terms of its historical development.

It does not cause a problem if people nowadays say πλατεία instead of πιάτσα or that ταχυδρομείο has prevailed over πόστα. It seems nostalgic if one prefers to hear μπαχτσέ instead of κήπος, but it is remarkable for example that in Greece only 30 years ago a vocabulary of Turkish or Italian origin describing tools and other utensils was more or less commonly used. The artificial creation of the καθαρεύουσα was not successful, however the foreign phrases were also removed from the δημοτική (since it worked hand in hand with the καθαρεύουσα), so that the Greek of today has a very limited technical vocabulary. The rest was sacrificed on the altar of the Greek past.

This is just one example of the most horrendous consequences of Philhellenism, or rather of the ideology adopted by the philhellenes. This ideology is nothing more than a hindrance for Greece on its passage to becoming a normal state with a normal language.[15] As a result of this, it is nearly impossible to criticise the Greek State.

Let me go back a bit. A modern state is amongst other things shaped by science. Nobody is so bold as to demand the provision of the full range of sciences from Greece. Not even richer countries are able to do that. But there are nevertheless sciences that cost less money and they still manage to create scientific thought, namely the humanities.

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[14]   Then still δίκη των τόνων, a law suit in the 1930s that Kakrides lost. He had sought to simplify accents.

[15]   This links Greece to Byzantium (see above), though not as if there were a common tradition. No, both believe that they can justify their cultural existence only by harking back to ancient Greece.

But what about them in Greece? Let us take popular culture. Material is gathered eagerly, but the interpretation is fixed from the start. It is about – and that was not only true 100 years ago, it is still the case today – proving that the modern Greeks descend from the ancient Greeks in an uninterrupted tradition. The argument is, one cannot put it any other way, absurd: reliefs have been found showing maenads holding hands; there are photos showing women with the same hand position. Well: the ancients already danced the *Kalamatianos*, Pontic Greeks dance the *Pyrrichios* of course, but not the *Shera*, when they perform officially, and the *Kotsari* is of course a war-dance, danced with cartridge belts and finished with the command πύρ.[16] [12] The women from Gida (today of course Alexandreia) have a headdress that resembles Macedonian helmets. This only deserves a comment insofar as women are the ones wearing these *helmets*.

Or let us take history, and medieval studies in Greece is Byzantine studies. On the one hand we have the scholars who bravely collect, edit, and conjecture material without thinking about the history, on the other hand we have people limping behind Paparrhegopoulos, ever trying to deliver proof of historical continuity. If one as a non-Greek dares to voice his or her doubts about this, it immediately calls up the label of *Neo-Fallmerayerism*: one can rest assured that all Greeks know the name Fallmerayer and link it with the 'Greek-hater', the μισέλλην. But that is only ridiculous or absurd, at best annoying.

The image of history depicted in Greek schoolbooks is far more dangerous, as it stands on its head so to speak. Whereas normally the image of history looks like an upside-down pyramid – a little of Antiquity, a bit more about the Middle Ages and mostly Modernity (the fact that the most recent past often misses out, as for example in Germany, is a result of repressing the undesirable past) – in Greece it is the other way round: Antiquity and more Antiquity, a little bit about the Middle Ages, hardly anything about the Turkish era and where Modernity is concerned more freedom fights than anything and certainly no local history. Yet Byzantium, the Turkish era and local history would offer good opportunities for people to find their own identity.

The Greeks have been told that they will find something that conforms with their innermost nature within classical Antiquity. However I dare to claim the following: while a Greek does not feel anything more or less than any West

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[16] πύρ is so popular that women's dances end with this instruction. A courageous people!

European during a visit to the Acropolis or Delphi (unless he deludes himself), he might be able to find himself in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine antiquities like churches, monasteries or ἀρχοντικά. That might offer a path into history and not a leap across the abyss of hypothesis. Instead of this, even the βουλγαρόφωνοι study the Peloponnesian War! This does not help them to become Greek, they end up as almost all Greeks, history-less.

All in all, there is the same estrangement that we established for the language. The average Greek cannot relate to history, positively or negatively, but as in case of the language he faces something alien with which he has to learn to cope. In the case of history, he achieves this by only too happily embracing the cliché of the *Greek*. Formulating this cliché maliciously, as a Greek he has learned that he is a descendant [13] of the ancients. This cliché arms him against all criticism – *only a Greek understands anything about Greece* – and first and foremost against the realisation that his country – and he basically knows that himself – cannot fulfil the demands of a modern society.

Again it is the philhellenes – even those sunk to the level of tourists – who support him in his attitude and enthusiastically reassure him that the Greek sun shines especially bright and the Greek sea is especially blue and all in all the Greeks are especially Greek.

Can we expect any change? Signs have been spotted over the last few years. A young generation, indifferent to all these problems, at least no longer reacts in an offended or hurt way, but also due to lack of knowledge does not realise the problems. A change? A definitive one will be brought about if one stops considering Fallmerayer as the living enemy of all Greeks[17] or introduces Turkish as a compulsory foreign language for historians. This currently still seems to be wishful thinking. But at least there are encouraging signs, in that the minaret of the Rotonda[18] in Thessalonike was not torn down after the earthquake, as one had feared, but was rebuilt instead. One may perhaps interpret this as not only being due to the fact that it seemed picturesque, but because people were beginning to apprehend their history in the Turkish era. As a German I have no illusions about how difficult this is, in my own country I

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[17] Νίκος Δήμου (one of the few exceptions!) once wrote that he always imagined Fallmerayer as αἱμοσταγή ἑλληνοφάγο.

[18] By the way, this name comes from the Spanish spoken by the Jews and is not anything ancient.

still experience the reluctance to face one's own history – other than verbally –
especially its ugly aspects.[19]

Is this all the fault of Philhellenism? One could assume so after this line of
argument, but this is not the case of course; there are other and more important
reasons for Greece's current situation. Philhellenism, or rather the ideology
taken over from Philhellenism, is the best means of disguising the real reasons
for a situation, building up pseudo-enemies and a pseudo-superiority that quite
readily turns into inferiority (the famous sigh of many Greeks: If only we had
your – they mean the German – order, then everything would be much better).

So Philhellenism is a means of disguise, and is therefore also a way of ruling
– Ludwig I and Lord Byron surely had no thought of this, but it still is a
necessary historical consequence. Nowadays [14] it is of course no longer a
matter of criticising this ideology historically – it is not worth inveighing
against measures introduced by the Greek government dating back to the turn
of the century or the civil war after World War II. The thing is to recognise the
situation and fight as best as possible.[20] It is not to follow the δημοτική blindly,
but rather to recognise that there are also alienating tendencies in the language
which are worth removing.[21] It is not to burden the Turks or the Allies or God
knows who with the blame for the country's condition, but to realise one's own
responsibility. Or from a historical point of view, find an explanation for why
the Turks conquered Byzantium, rather than leaving the job to non-Greeks
again.[22]

So it is no longer a matter – which brings us back to the philhellenes' first
concern – of confronting the present-day Slavs with their emigration to Greece
in the sixth century and declaring that the Slavs – who were identical with the
communists at least for a few decades, a fact they can claim for themselves with

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[19] Latest evidence: Hermann J. Abs, according to his obituaries, did not live between
1933 and 1945.

[20] Minority rights should be asserted most of all, especially since Greece itself demands
them in 'North Epirus' (i.e. Albania).

[21] Add something that should not be said too loudly: what Kemal Atatürk accomplished
in Turkey by switching to the Latin alphabet, was accomplished in Greece by means of the
reform of the language: without an understanding of the καθαρεύουσα every connection
with history is broken. Making the problem still more delicate is that the καθαρεύουσα is
itself a problematic matter.

[22] I think of the latest publications of Mrs. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore
Métochite* (Amsterdam, 1987) and *L'élite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la
guerre civile de 1341 à 1354* (Amsterdam, 1989).

satisfaction, which however is (sadly!) no longer true[23] – wish nothing more
than to slice up the Greek nation and devour large parts of it. It is to realise that
the Slavs are neighbours, and that the ones within the country are even fellow
citizens; and that the Greek communists who fled into neighbouring countries
are also part of Greece and its history. One should wave goodbye to the cliché
of the eternal Greece and accept that actually in the early Middle Ages, at the
latest, traditions had been broken, and that since then the old Greece, that even
in the days of Hellenism had fought for its survival, has been stone dead. Yes,
it would be great to reach a state where the enemies of Philhellenism were
no longer called μισέλληνες but could be accepted as friends – that would be
wonderful.

[15] Updated Addition (February 1994):

The rather optimistic conclusion of the above essay was worded a few years
ago. Today it reads like bitter irony. In the meantime the whole world has
experienced a fall-back into nationalistic thinking and behaviour due to the
collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, resulting in war and violence,
which everybody regarded impossible only a short while ago. Greece not
excepted.

The protest against the name Macedonia for the former Yugoslav Republic
of Macedonia has many reasons not worth listing here.[24] Nevertheless, it
is worth pointing out that all political parties in Greece support the protest
wholeheartedly and apart from a few expatriates did not oppose it at all. This
finally makes Alexander the Great a Hellene and ancient Macedonia, whose
northern border seems to be very well known, part of the core of Greece (for
4000 years!).[25] It is readily forgotten that Macedonia also included the northern

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[23]   Meaning 1991.

[24]   Surely there is no reason for Greece seriously to fear that the Macedonians could
expand into Greece and take away Thessalonike, even if the *Republic of Skopje* works
with the star of Philip and the white tower and speaks of 'Macedonia on the Aegean'. The
vilest reason is perhaps contemplation of a partition of Macedonia in cooperation with the
Serbians. This would extend the 'northern frontier of the Greek world' yet farther north.

[25]   One more consequence of these efforts involving Macedonia is that nowhere in
Greece is there so much money for symposia as in Thessalonike and nowhere are there so
many excavations as in northern Greece. *Greek* things crop up everywhere (for example, in

part during the (Byzantine) Middle Ages and the fact that people who had immigrated were allowed to adopt the name of their chosen country is, of course, not subject of the debate.[26] Again the cliché of Philhellenism works.

Paradoxically, it has also worked in these last years in a second way. It is a well known fact that Greece economically[27] and morally (our brave Serbian brothers!) supports the Serbs in their fight for a Great-Serbian territory. Their enemies in Bosnia are Muslims,[28] which give them a chance to take revenge on the Turks, without getting their hands dirty. [16] The Serbs therefore prevent the renewed spread of Islam (namely the Turks) in the Balkans.[29] But Russia and Serbia have also rediscovered themselves. In Russia the Serbs are seen as brothers, and the point is not to impede their fight in Bosnia.[30] This rediscovered brotherhood stretches from Russia via Serbia to Greece. This is just the constellation that led Fallmerayer in his time to his views and theses. One could smugly talk about Fallmerayer's late triumph.

If only it were not connected with so much misery and bloodshed.

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the Chalcidike. What a surprise!) and sometimes so much that nothing can be preserved, as at Dion, because of all the water.

[26]   Paradoxically, the Macedonian Slavs in Greece have come to the conclusion that *they* are the true descendants of Alexander, since 'We are the native people. Only exiles live around us and they came only after 1922. They do not belong here but they act as though Alexander belonged to them.'

[27]   Here cooperation with the nameless Macedonians comes along just brilliantly. People are already sending gasoline through Bulgaria.

[28]   And earlier they were Bogomils, even then persecuted by Catholics and Orthodox.

[29]   The eastern Bulgarians, the Kosovo Albanians, and the Turkish minority in Thrace seem to form a vice around Greece.

[30]   The present argument is that when the Serbs are pressured militarily with air strikes they get even more furious. Thus, they are let to do what they want!

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